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ABSTRACT

The Indian Chiefs of Alberta prepared this document in response to the Canadian government's "White Paper on Indians." Basically the White Paper was an attempt to transfer ownership of the land to individual Indians and the management of Indian Affairs from the federal to the provincial governments. In the present paper, the Indian Chiefs of Alberta, representing the Treaty Indians, set forth their case for the treaty rights granted them and ask that the federal government continue to recognize the treaties. The chiefs suggest programs in economics, health, and education that would aid in the fulfillment of the federal government's responsibilities. (LS)

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CITIZENS PLUS

"Indians should be regarded as 'Citizens Plus', in addition to the normal rights and duties of citizenship, Indians possess certain additional rights as charter members of the Canadian community"

The Hawthorn Report

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
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RC005688

A Presentation by the Indian Chiefs of Alberta to Right Honourable P.E. Trudeau, Prime Minister and the Government of Canada.

June, 1970

A. THE PREAMBLE

To us who are Treaty Indians there is nothing more important than our Treaties, our lands and the well being of our future generation. We have studied carefully the contents of the Government White Paper on Indians and we have concluded that it offers despair instead of hope. Under the guise of land ownership, the government has devised a scheme whereby within a generation or shortly after the proposed Indian Lands Act expires our people would be left with no land and consequently the future generation would be condemned to the despair and ugly spectre of urban poverty in ghettos.

In Alberta, we have told the Federal Minister of Indian Affairs that we do not wish to discuss his White Paper with him until we reach a position where we can bring forth viable alternatives because we know that his paper is wrong and that it will harm our people. We refused to meet him on his White Paper because we have been stung and hurt by his concept of consultation.

In his White Paper, the Minister said, "This review was a response to things said by Indian people at the consultation meetings which began a year ago and culminated in a meeting in Ottawa in April." Yet, what Indians asked for land ownership that would result in Provincial taxation of our reserves? What Indians asked that the Canadian Constitution be changed to remove any reference to Indians or Indian lands? What Indians asked that Treaties be brought to an end? What group of Indians asked that aboriginal rights not be recognized? What group of Indians asked for a Commissioner whose purview would exclude half of the Indian population in Canada? The awnser is no Treaty Indians asked for any of these things and yet through his concept of "consultation," the Minister said that his White Paper was in response to things said by Indians.

We felt that with this concept of consultation held by the Minister and his department, that if we met with them to discuss the contents of his White Paper without being fully prepared, that even if we just talked about the weather, he would turn around and tell Parliament and the Canadian public that we accepted his White Paper.

We asked for time to prepare a counter proposal. We have received assurances that the implementation process would not take place. However, the Federal rhetoric has not been substantiated by action. In fact, there is every indication that the implementation process is being carried as fast and as fully as possible. For example, the Departmental officials have prepared their budgets so as to make implementation possible. They rationalize this action by saying that if the White Paper on Indians is implemented their programs must be set whereby they can achieve the implementation within five years or if it does not come about that they can have better programs. Where is the moratorium that we have asked for on activities on the implement on the White Paper?

The Minister of Indian Affairs has stated publically that he is not attempting to throw the Indians over to the provinces in spite of what is contained in writing in his White Paper. Yet, while maintaining this contradictory position he writes a letter to the Premier of Alberta dated February 20, 1970 stating that the Federal Government would transfer funds to the Province for the extension of provincial services to reserves; but these funds would be gradually phased out with the assumption that at this point the Provincial Government would bear full financial responsibility for the provision of these services.

Where is the consistency of the Minister's position when he tells Indians verbally that their reserves will not come under the Provincial tax system but his White Paper and his letter of the Premier say otherwise.

The Indian Chiefs of Alberta meeting in Calgary addressed a letter to the Honorable Pierre E. Trudeau dated January 22, 1970. That letter said:

> "This assembly of all the Indian Chiefs of Alberta is deeply concerned with the action taken by the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, the Honorable Jean Chretien, regarding the implementation of the Indian policy.

Time and time again, on the one hand, the Minister has declared publically to the Canadian people that the Indian Policy contained proposals to be discussed with the Indian people. On the other hand, Indian Affairs officials have been recruited for implementation teams to go ahead with the implementation of the policy paper.

We find this double-headed approach contradictory. A glaring example is the appointment of the Claims Commissioner.

Another example is the concentrated public relations program being conducted to impose the White Paper on the Canadian public. We find this incompatible with the Just Society. Discussions between the Federal department of Indian Affairs and provincial governments have also been initiated.

This assembly of all the Indian Chiefs of Alberta reaffirms its position of unity and recognizes the Indian Association of Alberta as the voice of all the Treaty Indian people of this province. As representatives of our people we are pledged to continue our earnest efforts to preserve the hereditary and legal privileges of our people.

At this meeting of Alberta Indian Chiefs, we have reviewed the first draft of ou. Counter Policy to the Chretien paper. We plan to complete our final draft in the near future, for presentation to the Federal Government.

We request that no further process of implementation takes place and that action already taken be reviewed to minimize suspicions and to make possible a positive and constructive dialogue between your government and our people."

In his reply, dated February 19, 1970, to telegrams sent by the Chiefs' Conference of January 22nd, the Minister states that "the policy proposals, which were put forward in quite general terms will require modification and refinement before they can be put into effect." In a preceding sentence attempting to explain his Consulation and Negotiation Group which we know as the implementation team, he

says, "I believe that the policy that has been proposed is a correct one, I expect that my Consulation and Negotiations officers will also try to persuade the Indian people, and Canadians generally, that the direction of the policy proposals is indeed in the best interest of all concerned."

If this is his belief, where is his so called flexibility, especially when Indian people disagree with his mythical concepts of him leading the Indians to the promised land?

B. THE COUNTER POLICY

B.1. INDIAN STATUS

The White Paper Policy said "that the legislative and constitutional bases of discrimination should be removed."

We reject this policy. We say that the recognition of Indian status is essential for justice.

Retaining the legal status of Indians is necesary if Indians are to be treated justly. Justice requires that the special history, rights and circumstances of Indian People be recognized. The Chretien Policy says, "Canada cannot seek the just society and keep discriminatory legislation on its statute books". That statement covers a faulty understanding of fairness. Professor L.C. Green found that in other countries minorities were given special status. Professor Green has concluded:

> "The 1969 Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy is based on the assumption that any legislation which sets a particular segment of the populatiion apart from the main stream of the citizenry is ipso facto conducive to a denial of equality and therefore discriminatory and to be deplored. **Such an attitude indicates a complete lack of understanding of the significance of the concept of equality**, particularly in so far as the law concerning the protection of minorities is concerned.

"...It is perhaps not easy to define the distinction between the notions of equality in fact and equality in law; nevertheless, it may be said that the former notion excludes the idea of a merely formal equality..."

Equality in law precludes discrimination of any kind; **whereas equality in fact may involve the necessity of different treatment** in order to obtain a result which establishes an equilibrium **between** different situations...

> "To attempt to maintain that the rights of the Indians result in discrimination against them or are evidence of a denial of their equality in the sense that their status is reduced thereby, is to indulge in an excessively **narrow view of the meaning of words, of the purpose of equality and of the nature of discrimination."**[1]

The legal definition of registered Indians must remain. If one of our registered brothers chooses, he may renounce his Indian status, become "enfranchised", receive his share of the funds of the tribe, and seek admission to ordinary Canadian society. But most Indians prefer to remain Indians. We believe that to be a good useful Canadian we must first be a good, happy and productive Indian.

B.2. THE UNIQUE INDIAN CULTURE AND CONTRIBUTION

The White Paper Policy said "that there should be positive recognition by everyone of the unique contribution of Indian culture to Canadian life.

We say that these are nice sounding words which are intended to mislead everybody. The only way to maintain our culture is for us to remain as Indians. To preserve our culture it is necessary to preserve our status, rights, lands and traditions. Our treaties are the bases of our rights.

There is room in Canada for diversity. Our leaders say that Canada should preserve her "pluralism", and encourage the culture of all her peoples. The culture of the Indian peoples are old and colorful strands in that Canadian fabric of diversity. We want our children to learn our

ways, our history, our customs, and our traditions.

Everyone should recognize that Indians have contributed much to the Canadian community. When we signed the treaties we promised to be good and loyal subjects of the Queen. The record is clear – we kept our promises. We were assured we would not be required to serve in foreign wars; nevertheless many Indians volunteered in greater proportion than non-Indian Canadians for service in two world wars. We live and are agreeable to live within the framework of Canadian civil and criminal law. We pay the same indirect and sales taxes that other Canadians pay. Our treaty rights cost Canada very little in relation to the Gross National Product or to the value of the lands ceded, but they are essential to us.

B.3. CHANNELS FOR SERVICES

The White Paper Policy says "that services should come through the same channels and from the same government agencies for all Canadians".

We say that the Federal Government is bound by the British North America Act, Section 9k, Head 24, to accept legislative responsibility for "Indians and Indian lands". Moreover in exchange for the lands which the Indian people surrendered to the Crown the treaties ensure the following benefits:

(a) To have and to hold certain lands called "reserves" for the sole use and benefit of the Indian people forever and assistance in the social economic, and cultural development of the reserves.

(b) The provision of health services to the Indian people on the reserve or off the reserve at the expense of the Federal government anywhere in Canada.

(c) The provision of education of all types and levels to all Indian people at the expense of the Federal government.

(d) The right of the Indian people to hunt, trap and fish for their livelihood free of governmental interference and regulation and subject only to the proviso that the exercise of this right must not interfere with the use and enjoyment of private property.

These benefits are not "handouts" because the Indian people paid for them by surrendering their lands. The Federal Government is bound to provide the actual services relating to education, welfare, health and economic development.

B.4. ENRICHED SERVICES

The White Paper policy says 'that those who are furthest behind should be helped most". The policy also promises "enriched services".

We do not want different treatment for different tribes. These promises of enriched services are bribes to get us to accept the rest of the Policy. The Federal Government is trying to divide us Indian people so it can conquer us by saying that poorer reserves will be helped most.

All reserves and tribes need help in the economic social, recreational and cultural development.

B.5. LAWFUL OBLIGATIONS

The White Paper Policy says "that lawful obligations should be recognized". If the Government meant what it said we would be happy. But it is obvious that the Government has never bothered to learn what the treaties are and has a distorted picture of them.

The Government shows that it is willfully ignorant of the bargains that were made between the Indians and the Queen's Commissioners.

The Government must admit its mistakes and recognize that the treaties are historic, moral and legal obligations. The redmen signed them in good faith, and lived up to the treaties. The treaties were solemn agreements. Indian lands were exchanged for the promises of the Indian Commissioners who represented the Queen. Many mission-

aries of many faiths brought the authority and prestige of whiteman's religion in encouraging Indians to sign.

In our treaties of 1876, 1877, 1899 certain promises were made to our people; some of these are contained in the text of the treaties, some in the negotiations, and some in the memories of our people. Our basic view is that all these promises are part of the treaties and must be honored.

Modernize the Treaties

The intent and spirit of the treaties must be our guide, not the precise letter of a foreign language. Treaties that run forever must have room for the changes in the conditions of life. The undertaking of the Government to provide teachers was a commitment to provide Indian children the educational opportunity equal to their white neighbors. The machinery and livestok symbolized economic development.

The White Paper Policy says "a plain reading of the words used in the treaties reveals the limited and minimal promises which were included in them....and in one treaty only a medicine chest". But we know from the Commissioners' Reports that they told the Indians that medicine chests were included in all three.

Indians have the right to receive, without payment, all healthcare services without exception and paid by the Government of Canada.

The medicine chests that we know were mentioned in the negotiations for Treaties Six, Seven and Eight mean that Indians should now receive free medical, hospital and dental care – the same high quality services available to other Canadians.

We agree with the judgement of Policha, J. in **Regina** vs. Walter Johnston:

> "Referring to the 'Medicine chest' clause of Treaty Number Six, it is common knowledge that the provision for caring for the sick and injured in the areas inhabited by the Indians in 1876 were somewhat primitive compared to present day standards. It can be

safely assumed that the Indians had limited knowledge of what provisions were available and it is obvious that they were concerned that their people be adequately cared for. With that in view and possibly carrying the opinion of Angers, J. a step further, I can only conclude that the 'medicine chest' clause and the 'pestilence' clause in Treaty No. 6 should be properly interpreted to mean that the Indians are entitled to receive all medical services, including medicines, drugs, medical supplies and hospital care free of charge. Lacking proper statutory provisions to the contrary, this entitlement would embrace all Indians within the meaning of the Indian Act, without exception."[2]

The principle thus laid down by Policha, J. is that all the provisions of the treaties are to be interpreted in favour of the Indians with full regard given to changing social and economic conditions.

The Indian people see the treaties as the basis of all their rights and status. If the Government expects the co-operation of Indians in any new policy, it must accept the Indian viewpoint on treaties. This would require the Government to start all over on its new policy.

B.6. INDIAN CONTROL OF INDIAN LANDS

The White Paper Policy says "that control of Indian lands should be transferred to Indian people".

We agree with this intent but we find that the Government is ignorant of two basic points. The Government wrongly thinks that Indian Reserve lands are owned by the Crown. The Government is, of course, in error. These lands are held in trust by the Crown but they are Indian lands.

The Indians are the beneficial (actual) owners of the lands. The legal title has been held for us by the Crown to prevent the sale or breaking up of our land. We are opposed to any system of allotment that would give individuals ownership with rights to sell.

According to the **Indian Act** R.S.C. 1952 the land is safe and secure, held in trust for the common use and benefit of the tribe. The land must never be sold, mortgaged or taxed.

The second error the Government commits is making the assumption that Indians can have control of the land only if they take ownership in the way that ordinary property is owned. The Government should either get some legal advice or get some brighter legal advisers. The advice we have received is that the Indian Act could be changed to give Indians control of lands without changing the fact that the title is now held in trust.

Indian lands must continue to be regarded in a different manner than other lands in Canada. It must be held forever in trust of the Crown because, as we say, "The true owners of the land are not yet born".

C. IMMEDIATE REQUIREMENTS

C.1. MINISTER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

We demand a full time Minister of Indian Affairs immediately. The Prime Minister should redefine the responsibilities of the Minister responsible for Indians. At the moment, the problems of Arctic Sovereignty and National Parks Policy are heavy. The Government is quite unrealistic in expecting one Minister to handle other responsibilities at the same time that new policies are being suggested for Indians and Indian lands. We are insulted because it is clear that the Government does not intend to regard its Indian people as deserving proper cabinet representation. As soon as we get a full time Minister, there will be some hope for useful consultations.

C.2. RECOGNIZE THE TREATIES

The Government must declare that it accepts the treaties as binding and must pledge that it will incorporate the treaties in updated terms in an amendment to the Canadian Constitution. The preamble or introduction to this amendment should contain a reaffirmation of the treaties and an undertaking by the Government to abide by the treaties.

When this declaration is given, Indians will be prepared to consider some specific details of policy changes.

The treaties could be clarified in several ways:

(a) The Government should appoint a Permanent Standing Committee of the House of Commons and Senate with members from all parties to deal only with registered Indians and their affairs.

(b) The Treaties could be referred to the Court of Canada with the understanding that the Court will examine all supporting evidence and not merely the bare treaty.

(c) We would agree to referring the interpretation of the treaties to an impartial body such as the International Court of Justice at the Hague.

When the Govern. ent applies the same intent to the treaties as our forefathers took them to mean, the Government must enact the provisions of the treaties as an Act of the Canadian Parliament. We would regard this Act as an interim and temporary measure indicating good faith. Then with the consent of the Provinces, the Government of Canada should entrench the treaties in the written Constitution.

Only by this entrenching will Indian rights be assured as long as the sun rises and the river runs. This course has also been suggested by Professor Green: "It may therefore be wise from a political and constitutional point of view to treat the Indian question as part and parcel of the whole problem of constitutional revision..."[3]

D. THE STEPS

D.1. THE INDIAN ACT

The White Paper Policy says that the Government would "Propose to Parliament that the Indian Act be repealed and take such legislative steps as may be necessary to enable Indians to control Indian lands and to acquire title to them". 12

We reject the White Paper Proposal that the Indian Act be repealed.

It is neither possible nor desirable to eliminate the **Indian Act**.

it is essential to review it, but not before the question of the treaties is settled. Some sections can be altered, amended, or deleted readily. Other sections need more careful study, because the **Indian Act** provided for Indian people, the legal framework that is provided in many federal and provincial statutes for other Canadians. Thus the **Indian Act** is very complicated and cannot simply be burned.

The **Indian Act** provides the basis for the Indian Affairs Branch. It confers on the Minister very sweeping powers. It often frustrates Indians in their individual efforts to earn a living and the entire tribe in its attempts toward greater self-government and better stewardship of the assets of the tribe.

The whole spirit of the **Indian Act** is paternalism. The Act provides that:

> "...The Minister may...authorize use of lands for schools or burial grounds...authorize surveys and subdivisions...determine and direct the construction of roads...issue certificates of possession...direct an Indian person or the tribe to compensate another Indian...call a referendum...appoint executors of wills...declare the will of an Indian to be void...issue temporary permits for the taking of sand, gravel, clay and other non-metallic substances upon or under lands in a reserve...make expenditures out of the revenues of the tribe to assist sick, aged, or destitute Indians of the tribe and provide for the burial of deceased indigent members...etc. etc. etc."

All these things, and many more, the Minister may do without consulting anyone. Such oppressive powers are probably without equal in the post-colonial era.

There is another long list of things that the Minister (of Indian Affairs) may do with the consent of the tribe. (Therefore in these matters the tribe can do nothing without the Minister's consent.)

And there are many things that an Indian person or tribe cannot do without the permission of the Minister.

These paternalistic prescriptions thus confine the Indian and the tribe as if they were incompetent, not able to conduct their personal business affairs, or be responsible for local self-government.

As one example, under Section 32, an Indian rancher might spend four days and 100 miles of driving to obtain authority to sell a calf, obtain permission to receive the proceeds and cash the cheque!

Local Government

Many tribes have now had valuable experience in managing their local government affairs. Other tribes are now ready to accept greater responsibility. We believe that there should be a commitment from the government that, as time passes and Indians choose, we should be given

those responsibilities we feel we are capable of taking on.

The tribe should choose its own arrangements for this local government. Sections 73–85 of the **Indian Act** now provide for the election of officers and prescribe the powers of the Council. The **Indian Act** can therefore be rewritten to establish the legal basis for tribal government in all matters usually delegated to local government. The provincial Government is not competent to pass legislation including reserve lands or persons as part of nearby counties.

D.2. TRANSFER TO THE PROVINCES

The White Paper Policy said that the Federal Government would "Propose to the governments of the provinces that they take over the same responsibility for Indians that they have for other citizens in their provinces. The take-over would be accompanied by the transfer to the provinces of federal funds normally provided for Indian programs, augmented as may be necessary."

The current arrangement for education is unacceptable because the Provincial and Federal Governments can make agreements without consulting Indian tribal councils.

Our education is not a welfare system. We have free education as a treaty right because we have paid in advance for our education by surrendering our lands.

The funds for education should be offered to the tribal councils. Then the tribe can decide whether it will operate schools itself or make contracts with nearby public schools for places for some or all of its students. These contracts would provide for Indian voice and vote in the operation of those schools. Opportunity could be provided for children of other Canadians to attend schools on the reserves.

D.3. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The Government White Paper Policy promises to "make substantial funds available for Indian economic development as an interim measure."

We say that it is not realistic to suppose that short-term assistance with economic development as an **interim measure** will be adequate. The promise of substantial funds must be followed by actually making these monies available. This help in economic development is in keeping with the intent of the treaties which provided machines and livestock, the ingredients of economic development 100 years ago. It is important that everyone recognize that giving up our Indian identity is not necessary for economic development.

It should also be recognized that other groups in society enjoy special legislation to ensure their economic, social or cultural well-being. Doctors and teachers are licensed as members of their professions. Labor negotiates for wages. Industry has tariff protection. Tax savings are given by the Federal Government to attract industry to underdeveloped regions. Special circumstances require special programs or benefits. Why not Indian reserves too?

Every group gets special treatment, concessions – even special status. We need and are entitled to special consideration – at the very least we expect that the promises made when we signed the treaties ceding our lands will be honored. The promise to help us help ourselves was an important promise and one still largely unfulfilled.

Guiding Principles

One guiding principle in our strategy must be that no program can succeed if it rests solely on continuing government appropriations, which depend in turn on annual legislative action. Government at all levels – federal, provincial, and local – will have to play key roles in any such program. But total reliance on government would be a mistake. It would be astronomically costly to the taxpayer; and would continue to make our people totally dependent on politics, on year-to-year appropriations, and the favor of others.

It is therefore imperative that we enlist the energies, resources and talents of private enterprise in this most urgent effort. All of our programs have been designed in Ottawa. Their funds have been voted and run by government agencies. They are not enough and only a part of it even gets to the Indian people, the rest being gobbled up in

administration at all levels.

To rely exculsively, even primarily, on governmental efforts is unwise. We must no longer ignore the potential contribution of private enterprise. It is probable that the lack of private enterprise participation is one of the main causes of failure to solve the problems of the poor and underdeveloped.

Local Effort

The primary effort must be the labor and sacrifice of the local tribes. The elimination of poverty and want is a responsibility we all share – but if it is to be met, tribal councils themselves must take the initiative. Leadership within Indian communities is important for its own sake. The objectives are group achievement, stability of family, and growth of community pride. But it is also important to end the psychological isolation of these areas – to bring not just individual residents, but the entire community, into the mainstream of Canadian life. And it is vital that children and young people see change and development take place through the work of their own fathers and brothers.

Freedom depends on having financial and social security first. The immediate problem before us, therefore, is to enable the bands to achieve basic, financial and social security where they live now, and it is crucial that they do so as a community.

There are two major categories of employment to be developed: the performance of tasks and works that the community needs (self government) and the development of jobs in private industry.

There is an enormous potential for work on the needs of the community and within the tribal administrations as self-government develops. We also need large numbers of workers to staff our schools, clinics, and community centers. Even now, we face serious shortages of nurses, teachers, policemen, health and welfare workers, recreation and sanitation workmen that could be alleviated by employing people from the communities they serve to aid them and by giving these aides the opportunity to move up the career ladder as they are trained.

The school curricula should be revised to prepare Indians to play their rightful part in the fields of public service employment, tribal administration, and in the new industries to be established.

Government Support to Private Industry

There will be enormous potential in the private sector as well. We can and must make our communities into centers of profitable and productive private industry, creating dignified jobs, not welfare handouts, for the men and youth who now languish in idleness.

Large scale investment in Indian communities will certainly be more costly and more difficult than investment elsewhere. Land transportation, insurance against fire, training of workers, extra supervision, all these are so costly in most reserve areas as to make investment there uneconomical under present conditions. If private enterprise is to play its full part in Indian communities, it must have the support of government to help make up the increased costs.

The most effective way to encourage new enterprise in reserve communities is through tax incentives, training incentives, and labor guarantees. This concept of government incentives to induce desired investments by private industry is not new. Tax credits, charitable contribution deductions, oil and mineral development incentives, accelerated depreciation, extra payroll deductions, low-interest loans, and numerous other ways have always been used by government as incentives to develop special areas or to handle special situations.

The entry of private enterprise must be in tune with the life and spirit of the community. Its role must complement the other efforts being made in the community.

Community Development Corporation

Private enterprise and local government will be assisted by all the resources of a provincial community development corporation set up by the Indian Association of Alberta.

The community corporation would ensure that what is done to create jobs and build homes, builds the community as well, and builds new and continuing opportunities for its residents. They would ensure that what is done involves not just the physical development of the community, but the development of its educational system, its health services – in short, all the services its residents need. They would be the source of technical assistance to local business men. And they would be the main channel through which outside aid – government or private – enters the community. They would have the opportunity to make every government program and many private efforts more effective than before.

The programs cannot come from the top down. The leadership for these self-help initiatives must come from the people who live where the problems are. The people must know that the programs belong to them, and that the successes as well as the failures will be theirs too.

This Community Development Corporation must enter into partnership with industry to enlist resources thus far not available to Indian communities – sufficient to mount a real attack on the inter-twined problems of housing and jobs, education and income. This will require loans and technical co-operation from industry and commerce, trained manpower and organization from labor unions, academic and educational partnership with the universities, funds for education and training such as those provided under many present government programs.

The corporation would make special efforts in the field of on-the-job training. Not only will job training be needed to make initial employment possible; just as important, the availability of jobs will make the training programs more meaningful than they have been before.

D.4. THE INDIAN AFFAIRS BRANCH

The White Paper Policy proposes that the Government will "wind up that part of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development which deals with Indian Affairs. The residual responsibilities of the Federal Government for programs in the field of Indian

Affairs would be transferred to other appropriate federal departments".

We reject this proposal to abolish the Indian Affairs Branch.

There will always be a continuing need for an Indian Affairs Branch. The Indian Affairs Branch should change to a smaller structure closely attuned to the well-being of Indian people.

The Branch needs to change its outlook. It should stop being authoritarian and it should start to serve the people. The Branch should be given a new name to signify that it has turned over a new leaf. This smaller successor body should serve mainly as the keeper of the Queen's promises, the treaties and the lands. It should channel federal funds to the tribes or to the provincial association depending on circumstances.

Tribes should also have direct access to Ottawa. The Branch should report to a Minister of the Crown who has no other responsibility than the well-being of the Canadian Indian people.

Over the years the Indian Affairs Branch has been out of touch, a long ways away, unresponsive, and even unthinking. This has made the Indian feel that the Indian Affairs Branch has been bureaucratic and paternalistic. We know too that many good-hearted individuals have worked there, including some of our Indian people. But the good people seem to leave. They become discouraged or they are squeezed out. Thus we conclude that the recruitment and promotion policies of the Branch need a thorough review soon.

The Government's proposal to eliminate the Indian Affairs Branch ignores the advice given by the Hawthorn Committee which the Government itself set up to look into Indian Affairs. The Indian Affairs Branch could make a valuable contribution. For example, the Hawthorn Report recommended that the Branch play a valuable role in the Canadian community:

> "The Indian Affairs Branch should act as a national conscience to see that social and economic equality is achieved between Indians and Whites. This role includes the persistent advocacy of Indian needs, the persistent exposure of shortcomings in the govern-

mental treatment that Indians receive and the persistent removal of ethnic tensions between Indians and Whites.

Indians should be regarded as 'citizens plus'; in addition to the normal rights and duties of citizenship, Indians possess certain additional rights as charter members of the Canadian community.

The Indian Affairs Branch has a special responsibility to see that the 'plus' aspects of Canadian citizenship are respected, and that governments and the Canadian people are educated in the acceptance of their existence."[4]

D.5. INDIAN CLAIMS COMMISSION

The White Paper Policy said: "In addition, the Government will appoint a Commissioner to consult with the Indians and to study and recommend acceptable procedures for the adjudication of claims".

We reject the appointment of a sole Commissioner because he has been appointed without consultation and by the Government itself. He is not impartial and he has no power to do anything but a whitewash job.

What a Claims Commission Would Be

A Claims Commission would be established by consultation with the Indians. The Commissioners would be impartial. The Commission would have the power to call any witness the Indians or the Commission wanted or any documents that either wanted. The Commission would make binding judgments.

What Would a Claims Commission Do

The Claims Commission could:

(a) Help modernize the treaties

(b) Award compensation to aboriginal peoples who are registered Indians who have no treaties. The Royal Proclamation of 1763 issued following the acquisition of Canada by the British provided that no Indian could be dispossessed of his land unless with his consent and the consent of the Crown. This common consent was given in the treaties under which Indians were to be compensated for giving up their title to the lands.

(c) Examine the boundaries of reservations and recognize the need to include as part of reserves the lakes that are on the edge of the reserves.

(d) Prepare draft legislation to overcome the bad effects of the Migratory Birds Convention Act and other improper restrictions on Indians fishing in lakes and rivers

(e) Hear all other claims that Indian persons or tribes want to have heard.

Conservative Promises

The Claims Commission has been promised by the Progressive Conservative Government headed by Prime Minister J. D. Diefenbaker Mr. Diefenbaker said in 1968

> "We had the Indian Claims Commission. Today the Indians are becoming aroused in a world that is seething with unrest. The injustice of a hundred years could have been compensated if the Claims Commission had been set up. The injustice remains. It remains today."[5]

Liberal Promises

When the 1963 Canadian general election was held, the Liberal party was in opposition One of the official pieces of campaign literature, which bore the photograph of Mr. L. B. Pearson, contained the following promises, parts of which we have underlined

"At Prince Rupert in 1910, Sir Wilfred Laurier promised that the Indian land question would be taken to the Privy Council The solution in 1963 lies in a totally different course of action.

Liberal policy now is to appoint **as soon as possible** an Indian Claims Commission, an **independent unbiased, unprejudiced** body with broad terms of reference, to review **all matters** pertaining to this issue.

With the objective of achieving a fair and just settlement of all outstanding claims, it is Liberal policy that the Commission will include qualified authorities on British Constitutional laws as it affects **aboriginal hereditary** and **usufructory** rights.

To assure the objectivity which Indians of Canada have the right to expect **after years of procrastination**, Commissioners may be appointed from other parts of the Commonwealth such as New Zealand, where achievements in this field are regarded as outstanding. It is Liberal policy that the Commission will be unbiased and independent.

Appointment of the Indian Claims Commission, as described, is based on the fundamental Liberal policy that **Canada's Native Indians must now achieve full equality without loss of aboriginal, hereditary and usufructory rights.**

We think it is about time to remind the Government of these promises which are now seven years old.

E. CONCLUSION

If the Federal Government accepts its well-established obligations and seeks to honor them fully and enthusiastically, there is good reason to believe that consultation and progress are possible.

But in the case of grave social wrongs and deeply felt concerns, time is of the essence. The Indian leadership today is accustomed to the honorable and peaceful discussion and eventual solution, of the rights and needs and aspirations of our people.

But if for much longer the rights are not noticed, needs not met, or aspirations not fulfilled, then no one – especially having regard to developments all over the globe – can be assured that the rank and file will continue to accept such pacific conduct from its leaders.

Some reserves now have an agricultural-economic base adequate to support only one sixth the Indian population and the prediction is that by 1980 the base will support only one tenth the Indian population. Thus the problems are urgent.

Mr. Robert L. Stanfield has stressed the danger of moderate and responsible Indian leaders being replaced by less patient and more militant men.[6]

Professor Green has written that the situation could " easily erupt into a civil disturbance that would make the Riel Rebellion of 1884-5 or the Slaves' Revolt under John Brown, look like kindergarten picnics."

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1. *L.C. Green, Canada's Indians – Federal Policy* (1969) Government of Alberta (underlining added)

2. Judgement dated July 12, 1965, North Battleford in District Court of Saskatchewan. The defendant Johnston was living off the reserve. It is very significant that the learned Judge examined supplemental sources and did not restrict his attention to the formal written treaty.

3. *L.C. Green, Canada's Indians – Federal Policy*

4. H.D. Hawthorn, *A Survey of Contemporary Indians* – Volume One (1966) Indian Affairs Branch, Queen's Printer, Ottawa

5. Reported from interview by Ben Tierney in *Edmonton Journal*, June 4, 1968

6. Reported March 22, 1968, *Calgary Albertan*

7. L.C. Green, *Canada's Indians – Federal Policy*

F.1 , HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

THE TREATIES

"As long as the sun shines and the river runs"

The Treaties with the Indians of the area now called Alberta were signed before our province attained provincial status in 1905. The Alberta Treaties were given the numbers Six, Seven, and Eight.

Treaty Six was made and concluded near Fort Carlton and near Fort Pitt in 1876. The main negotiator for the Queen was the Honourable Alexander Morris, Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Manitoba and the Northwest Territories. The signing of the Treaty came one year after the respected and influential Reverend George McDougall, a Methodist missionary, went among the Indians to assure them that the Queen would make a Treaty to obtain their lands as the Queen haddone already with Indians to the east. Missionaries of at least four Christian faiths attended the negotiations to conduct services but also to interpret and to assure the Indians of the Commissioners' integrity.

Treaty Number Seven was made at the Blackfoot crossing on the Bow River in September, 1877. Lieutenant Governor David Laird and Colonel McLeod of the Mounted Police represented the Queen. The good reputation of the Mounted Police and the good faith of the Indians led to the making of a Treaty in Canada at the very time that troops and Indians were shooting each other south of the border. The Reverend John McDougall, son of George McDougall who had died the winter before, and Reverend C. Scollen, a priest in the Roman Catholic Church, were visitors at the making of the Treaty. Those gentlemen "...rendered the Commissioners all the assistance in their power".[1,2]

Treaty Number Eight was made in June, 1899. Mr. David Laird was the main negotiator for the Government. The territory ceded included Northern Alberta and part of Northeastern British Columbia and part of the Northwest Territories. In his report after making the Treaty, Mr. Laird noted, "We would add that the Very Reverend Father Lacombe, who was attached to the Commission, zealously assisted us in

treating with the Crees".

The Indian Commissioners for all the Treaties tried to call all the tribes of the affected area together for the negotiations. For most of the Treaties there were a few tribes who were not present. Some were hunting. Other tribes lived far away. The Commissioners searched for those tribes and usually arranged supplemental agreements under which the Indians agreed to be bound as if they had signed the Treaty when it was made. These supplemental agreements are called **Adhesions**.

The men who signed the Treaties as the representatives of the tribes were chiefs, councillors, or headmen. When the negotiations for a Treaty began, the Commissioners asked the Indians to point out their chiefs. These chiefs were usually the main spokesmen but in some cases "orators" spoke. The medallions, flags and suits of clothes which were presented to the chiefs and headmen were intended to symbolize the authority of the Queen's government and the special responsibility of the chiefs and councillors in teaching the children to respect the Treaties and maintaining law and order.

The Treaties were signed in utmost good faith by the Commissions and by the Indians. For example, at Treaty Six, Lieutenant Governor Morris said:

> "Again, I say, all we seek is your good; I speak openly, as brother to brother, as a father to his children, and I would give you a last advice, hear my words...My words, when they are accepted, are written down, and they last, as I have said to the others, **as long as the sun shines and the river runs.**"[3]

THE INDIAN LANDS

There is no doubt that the Treaties were necessary for the westward growth of the Dominion of Canada. The plain truth is that the Dominion Government acknowledged that the Indians held title to the land. In order to acquire lands to permit mining and homesteading, the Province of Canada, and later the Dominion, acknowledged the necessity to deal with the Indians for their land. The Indians were regarded as the Queen's subjects – but special subjects, the owners of the land.

The Indian Commissioner, Lieutenant Governor and historian, Alexander Morris, referred to Treaties signed in 1817 and 1850 as providing for the surrender of Indian title.

> "In consequence of the discovery of minerals, on the shores of Lakes Huron and Superior, **the Government** of the late Province of Canada, **deemed it desirable to extinguish the Indian title, and in order to that end,** in the year 1850, entrusted the duty to the late honorable William B. Robinson, who discharged his duties with great tact and judgment, **succeeded in making two treaties,** which were the forerunners of the future treaties, and shaped their course."[4]

In 1871, the Secretary of State of Canada, Honorable Joseph Howe, referred to "...the **necessity** of arranging with the bands of Indians inhabiting the tract of country between Thunder Bay and the Stone Fort, for the cession, subject to certain reserves such as they should select, of the lands occupied by them."[5]

The Stone Fort Treaty, as the Treaty was called, was the first of many Treaties between the Dominion and the Indians. (In this series the Treaties with Indians of Alberta are called Numbers Six, Seven, and Eight.)

The land occupied by the Indians thus become part of the Dominion, not by conquest, not as the spoils of war, but through the honorable process of Treaties between the Queen and the aboriginal peoples. The benefits accruing to the Indians under the Treaties were to last forever – in perpetuity – "for as long as the sun rises and the river runs".

The making of the Treaties took the form of verbal discussion between the Commissioners and the Indians. The written texts, with their very legalistic construction, were prepared later by government lawyers. The formal written treaties (small t) are therefore insufficient as reports of the Treaties (large T), of the verbal promises exchanged by Redmen and Whitemen. Indeed, it was necessary to revise Treaties Numbers One and Two because some verbal promises were not included in the written text.[6]

The purpose of the Dominion in making the Treaties was to acquire the land of the Indians. The yielding up of most of their land was clearly the most important undertaking to which the Indians agreed in signing a treaty contract. The one extra undertaking to abide by the law, was added at the end of the document. In Treaty Six it is written:

> "The Plain and Wood Cree Tribes of Indians, and all other Indians inhabiting the district hereinafter described and defined, do hereby cede, release, surrender and yield up to the Government of the Dominion of Canada, for Her Majesty the Queen and Her successors forever, all their rights, titles and privileges, whatsoever to the lands included in the following limits..."

These same words "...cede, release, surrender, and yield up to the Government of Canada..." also appear in Treaty Seven.

And in Treaty Eight, it is written:

> "And whereas the said Indians have been notifed and informed by Her Majesty's said Commission that it is Her desire to open for settlement, immigration, trade, travel, mining, lumbering, and such other purposes as to Her Majesty may seem meet'"the said Indians DO HEREBY CEDE, RELEASE, SURRENDER AND YIELD UP to the Government..."

The Indians yielded their land in return for the many promises made to them by the Comissioners. The Commissioners went to Indians from the Government with their minds made up. They listened to counter-proposals with seeming patience but soon forgot. The Commissioners promised to send some Indian proposals back to the Queen's representative, but they forced the hand of the Indians by saying in effect, **"Sign our treaty or we shall leave in the morning"**.

The Queen's negotiators believed that the Indians were in weak bargaining positions. The white settlers and surveyors and miners were too numerous to be excluded, even if the Indians had been willing to take up rifles. The slaughter of the buffalo had nearly exterminated the magnificent animals before Treaty Six was signed. Smallpox had killed the young, the old, and the weak. It was recognized that the Queen's

Mounted Police Force were needed to keep out the whiskey and gun traders and to keep the peace between some tribes. Consequently the Indians were hoping to be "treated" but at the same time fearful that they would be confined to reserves, be required to abandon hunting, and to serve in front lines if war occurred.

This presumption of the weak bargaining position of the Indians was expressed in 1871 by Adams G. Archibald, the Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba, who reported on the negotiations in Treaty Two:

> "In defining the limits of their reserves, so far as we could see, they wished to have about two thirds of the Province. We heard them out and then told them it was quite clear they had misunderstood...We told them that whether they wished it or not, immigrants would come in and fill up the country; that every year from this one twice as many in number as their whole people there assembled would pour into the Province, and in a little while would spread all over it, and that now was the time for them to come to an arrangement that would secure homes and annuities for themselves and their children... We requested them to think over these propositions till Monday morning.
>
> "If they thought it better to have no treaty at all, they might do without one, but they must make up their minds; if there was to be a treaty, it must be on a basis like that offered..."[7]

The settlement of the vast areas of Western Canada was a prerequisite to full nationhood and proceeded quickly and peacefully. Never before had such a vast expanse of land been opened to settlement so rapidly with so few disruptive events. The Indians have conducted themselves as the good and loyal subjects of the Her Majesty the Queen as they promised in the Treaties they would be.

THE RESERVES

The lands which were not released to the Queen have remained as Indian lands. Section 91 of the B.N.A. Act gave legislative authority over Indians and Indian lands to the Federal Government. Since these

lands remain as the aboriginal property of the Indians, it does not fall within the competence of any government to dispose of them in any way without the consent of the Indians.

In speaking of these "reserves", Lieutenant Governor Archibald said in 1871:

> "Your Great Mother, therefore, will lay aside for you 'lots' of land to be used by you and your children forever. She will not allow the white man to intrude upon these lots. **She will make rules to keep them for you**, so that as long as the sun shall shine, there shall be no Indian who has not a place that he can call his home, where he can go and pitch his camp, or if he chooses, build his house and till his land."[8]

With these words, the Lieutenant Governor indicated that Indian reserves would be Indian land forever.

A piece of legislation assented to May 22, 1868, provided that:

> "All lands reserved for Indians or for any tribe, band or body of Indians, or held in trust for their benefit, shall be deemed to be reserved and held for the same purposes as before the passing of this Act, but subject to its provisions; and **no such lands shall be sold, alienated or leased** until they have been released or surrendered to the Crown for the purposes of this Act."

This first enactment of the Dominion respecting Indian lands thus specified very clearly that Indian lands were never to be patented, taxed, or disposed of in the manner of other lands.

This assurance was restated by Lieutenant Governor Morris at Fort Carlton:

> "But understand me, once the reserve is set aside, it could not be sold unless with the consent of the Queen and the Indians; as long as the Indians wish, it will stand there for their good; no one can take their homes."[9]

Owing to the admitted smallness of the reserves, the Treaties provided other benefits, for annuities, relief to the old or needy, ammunition, twine, seeds, axes, mowers, livestock, etc., etc. These aids were to assist Indians in earning their living when the hunt failed, the settlers came, and they had to rely on their own efforts, their small reserves, and take up the ways of their white neighbors, the farmers. The teachers that were promised were to include teachers skilled in building construction and animal and plant husbandry. Although not given the modern terminology, economic and community development, the intent was the same – the improvement of the reserves as places to live and to work.

Alexander Morris wrote of the administration of Indian affairs in his 1880 book:

> "The allotment of lands to the Indians, to be set aside as reserves for them for homes and agricultural purposes, and which cannot be sold or alienated wihout their consent, and then only for their benefit; the extent of lands thus set apart being generally one section for each family of five. I regard this system as of great value. It at once secures to the Indian tribes tracts of land, which cannot be interfered with by the rush of immigration, and affords the means of inducing them to establish homes and learn the arts of agriculture. I regard the Canadian system of allotting reserves to one or more bands together, in the localities in which they have had the habit of living, as far preferable to the American system of placing whole tribes in large reserves, which eventually become the object of cupidity to the whites, and the breaking up of which, has so often led to Indian wars and great discontent even if warfare did not result. The Indians have a strong attachment to the localities, in which they and their fathers have been accustomed to dwell, and it is desirable to cultivate this home feeling of attachment to the soil. Moreover, the Canadian system of band reserves has a tendency to diminish the offensive strength of the Indian tribes, should they ever become restless, a remote contingency, if the treaties are carefully observed. Besides, the fact of the reserves being scattered throughout the territories, will enable the Indians to obtain markets among the white settlers, for any surplus produce they may eventually have to dispose of. It

will be found desirable, to assign to each family parts of the reserve for their own use, so as to give them a sense of property in it, but all power of sale or alienation of such lands should be rigidly prohibited. Any premature enfranchisement of the Indians, or power given them to part with their lands, would inevitably lead to the speedy breaking up of the reserves, and the return of the Indians to their wandering mode of life, and thereby to the re-creation of a difficulty which the assignment of reserves was calculated to obviate. There is no parallel between the condition of the North-Western Indians, and that of the Indians who have so long been under the fostering care of the Government in the older Provinces of Ontario and Quebec."[10]

In the culture of Western Canadian Indians, the land is the gift of the Great Spirit, the common legacy of all. The true owners are the children yet unborn. The Indians naturally view their land as a trust with a permanent sign on the corner-post, "Not for Sale".

THE MEDICINE CHESTS

In the course of the negotiations at Fort Carlton, Peter Erasmus read a counter-offer which contained the specific request " . . . a free supply of medicines . . . "[11]

The Lieutenant Governor replied to the request saying, "A medicine chest will be kept at the house of each Indian agent, in case of sickness amongst you."[12]

The formal written Treaty said simply, "That a medicine chest shall be kept at the house of each Indian agent for the use and benefit of the Indians at the direction of such agent."

Now, what does a "medicine chest" mean today? Medical practice and health care have changed markedly in the last 100 years. The intent was that Indians should receive from the Federal Government whatever medical care could be made available.

The concern for the free supply of medicines was no doubt due to the ravages of scarlet fever, measles and smallpox that were being endured in the 1870's by the Indians who met the Commissioners at Fort Carlton and Fort Pitt. Thus the assurance of proper health care was not merely incidental to signing of the Treaties. The Government of the Dominion should therefore feel bound to provide full medical services through regular channels. Professor Green appeals to "good faith , common sense, and the traditional rules of interpretation" to reach this same conclusion.[13] By modern Canadian standards, an Indian agent is not a practitioner and his family collection of ointments, pills, and band aids is not a storehouse.

The principle of equal treatment was enunciated by Lieutenant Governor Morris when Treaty Six was signed:

"...we have to think of the Indians all over the country, we cannot treat one better than another, it would not be just..."[15]

Applying this principle of equal treatment in favor of the Treaty Seven Indians, this principle implies that a medicine chest was a part of that treaty!

Is there a medicine chest in Treaty Eight? No mention was made in the bare dry bones of the formal written treaty! But there is no doubt that the Indians asked for one.

In their report September 22, 1899, on Treaty Eight, the Commissioners stated:

> "They requested that medicines should be furnished. At Vermilion, Chipewyan, and Smith's Landing, an earnest appeal was made for the services of a medical man...
>
> "The presence of a medical man was much appreciated by the Indians, and Dr. West, the physician to the Commission was most assiduous in attending to the very great number of Indians who sought his services."

And there is no doubt that medical care was promised. In their September 22, 1899, report the Commissioners stated:

> "We promised that supplies of medicines would be put in the charge of persons selected by the Government at different points, and would be distributed free to those of the Indians who might require them. We explained that it would be practically impossible for the Government to arrange for regular medical attendance upon Indians so widely scattered over such an extensive territory. We assured them, however, that the Government would always be ready to avail itself of any opportunity of affording medical service just as it provided that the physician attached to the Commission should give free attendance to all Indians whom he might find in need of treatment as he passed through the country."

The Indians believe that whatever the treaties record, the Treaties made with their forefathers included medicine chests. The Government has long ago conceded that it is responsbile for medical care. It has either provided the service or picked up the tab. The Government built Indian hospitals at the Blood, Peigan, Hobbema, Driftpile, and Blackfoot reserves. The Charles Camsell Hospital was built in Edmonton. There are hospitals in all the three treaty areas. Moreover, the status and health-role of the tribal medicine man were undermined as part of a deliberate campaign to wipe out the folkways of persons held to be pagan.

THE SCHOOLS AND TEACHERS

The formal written Treaty Number Six provided:

"And further Her Majesty agrees to maintain schools for instruction in such reserves hereby made as to Her Government of the Dominion of Canada may seem advisable, whenever the Indians of the reserve shall desire it."

The formal written Treaty Number Seven provided:

"Further, Her Majesty agrees to pay the salary of such teachers to instruct the children of said Indians as to Her Government of Canada may seem advisable when said Indians are settled on their reserves and shall desire teachers."

The formal written Treaty Number Eight provided:

"Further, Her Majesty agrees to pay the salaries of such teachers to instruct the children of said Indians as to Her Majesty's Government of Canada may seem advisable."

In his report on Treaty Six, Lieutenant Governor Morris wrote:

"...I thought the desire of the Indians, to be instructed in farming and building, most reasonable, and I would therefore recommend that measures be adopted to provide such instruction for them...

"The universal demand for teachers, and by some of the Indians for missionaries, is also encouraging."

The Report of the Commissioners for Treaty Eight laid great stress on education, particularly compared to the short one-sentence statement in the written treaty. The Commissioners wrote:

"They seemed desirous of securing educational advantages for their children, but stipulated that in the matter of schools there should be no interference with their religious beliefs...

"As to education the Indians were assured that there was no need of any special stipulation, as it was the policy of the Government to provide in every part of the country, as far as circumstances would permit, for the education of Indian children, and that the law, which was as strong as a treaty, provided for non-interference with the religion of the Indians in schools maintained or assisted by the government."

HUNTING, TRAPPING AND FISHING

It is once again evident that the written treaties are not the full record of the promises given by the Queen's Commissioners. The Reports of the Commissioners are more complete records but they are undoubtedly too restrictive also.

Treaty Six provided:

"Her Majesty further agrees with Her said Indians that they, the said Indians, shall have right to pursue their avocations of hunting and fishing throughout the tract surrendered as hereinbefore described, subject to such regulations as may from time to time be made by Her Government of Her Dominion of Canada, and saving and excepting such tracts as may from time to time be required or taken up for settlement, mining, lumbering..."

In the negotiations for Treaty Six, Lieutenant Governor Morris indicated:

"You want to be at liberty to hunt as before. I told you we did not want to take that means of living from you. You have it the same as before, only this: if a man, whether Indian or Half-Breed, had a good field of grain, you would not destroy it with your hunt."[16]

The written Treaty Seven mentioned only the "right to pursue their avocations of hunting". There was no reference to fishing or to trapping.

In his Report on Treaty Seven, Lieutenant Governor Laird noted:

> "They were also assured that their liberty of hunting over the open prairie would not be interfered with, so long as they did not molest settlers and others in the country."

In the written Treaty Eight "...the said Indians...shall have to right to pursue their usual vocations of hunting, trapping, and fishing throughout the tract surrendered..." The promises of the Commissioners were, however, greater than those included in the written treaty. In their Report the Commissioners stated:

> "Our chief difficulty was the apprehension that the hunting and fishing privileges were to be curtailed. The provision in the treaty under which ammunition and twine is to be furnished went far in the direction of quieting the fears of the Indians, for they admitted it would be quite unreasonable to furnish the means of hunting and fishing if laws were to be enacted which would make hunting and fishing so restricted as to render it impossible to make a livelihood by such pursuits. But over and above the provision, we had to solemnly assure them that only such laws as to hunting and fishing as were in the interest to of the Indians and were found necessary in order to protect the fish and fur-bearing animals would be made, and that they would be as free to hunt and fish after the treaty as they would be if they never entered into it."

F.2. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Explanation: In March 1970 the Indian Assocation of Alberta submitted to the government and the party caucuses in Ottawa a brief outlining in considerable detail a practical way in which the Association, the federal and provincial governments and the Indian peoples could tackle the important challenges of economic development of Indian reserves. Excerpts from that brief are presented below:

THE ALBERTA INDIAN DEVELOPMENT SYSTEM (AIDS)

PREAMBLE

The basic principle of the Alberta Indian Development System (AIDS) is the recognition of the fundamental rights of all Indian peoples in the Province of Alberta to equal opportunities in socio-economic and human resources development in order that they may take their rightful place as full-fledged participants in the mosaic of the "Just Society" as meaningful and contributing citizens of Canada.

There exists an immediate priority and a desperate need for a functional and realistic course of action to aid the Indian people by providing the opportunities for individual improvement to gain with dignity, self-sufficiency and self-determination. This System proposes to do that.

The concept embodied within this Development System recognizes four distinct areas within its multi-disciplined program. First, the realization that there exist specific problems; second, that there are specific goals and priorities related to the problems; third, the identification of resources necessary to effect solutions to the problems; and fourth, that the System will be the means or vehicle through which these problems are solved by utilizing the necessary resources in order to attain the required goals and priorities. The formulas by which this process takes place within the framework of the System will be in the form of concrete people-orientated programs of positive action.

THE PROBLEM:

The basic problem, in all its varying degrees of intensity, which is confronted by all reserves and their peoples, is that of poverty with all its relevant symptoms – unemployment, inadequate education, overcrowded and deteriorating housing, crime, alcohol, and drug abuse, sub-standard preventive medicine and resultant disease, apathy, frustration, moral decay, destruction of the family and community units and total alienation from society. Significantly these symptoms of poverty relate generally to all reserves and peoples as a whole; whereas, the parallel is found only in smaller segments of the dominant society and appear as isolated pockets within a greater total.

The question of poverty can only be attacked with an economic development program acting as a motivational force or catalyst. The initial requirement would be a program built on the communities strength and tailored to meet its particular needs. The second initial requirement is an organization to do the work. AIDS would serve this function.

THE OBJECTIVES:

There is a deep and growing concern with the development of Alberta Indian peoples. All our policies must be shaped to a three-fold purpose:

1. To assist tribes in making their communities places where men can provide for and raise their families and live a decent life within the best of both the Indian context and that of non-native society;

2. To provide Indian people with the opportunity to fully develop their own talents and realize their own potentialities; and;

3. Above all to help them become masters of their communities and their own destiny.

There is a desperate need for action to help our people gain self-sufficiency and self-determination. We must act to help them build communities of security and achievement and dignity. However, if such communities are to be built, the primary effort must be the labor and sacrifice of the respective bands.

THE PROGRAM:

Useful and productive employment through economic development is the objective, but employment is not a program in itself. A serious program must help the Indian people both on an individual and community basis to attack their fundamental conditions within a framework of development that co-ordinates action on employment with four other central elements; self-government, education, housing and a sense of socio-cultural community. It is essential to build self-sufficiency and self-determination within communities themselves. Independence and freedom depend on having financial and social security first. The immediate problem before us is to enable the tribes to achieve basic, financial and social security where they are domiciled now, and it is crucial that they do so as a community.

A successful program of economic development is dependent upon three major factors: capital resources, human resources, and educational resources. As is the case in areas of concern of this nature, the capital and educational resources are evident more by their lack than their presence. There is no lack of potential human resources. A method must be found whereby a polygynous marriage of capital, education, and people may be brought about. No society of people ever thrived without that marriage. The program in itself must possess a rigidity to ensure uniformity and continuity of purpose and yet be flexible to provide for change as the need arises. The AIDS program proposes to do that.

There are two major categories of employment to be developed: the performance of tasks and works that the community needs (self-government), and the development of jobs related to industry, both on reserves and off the reserve.

There is an enormous potential for work on the needs of the community and within the band administrations as self-government develops. We also need large numbers of workers to staff our schools, clinics, and community centres. Even now, we face serious shortages of nurses, teachers, policemen, health, and welfare workers, recreation and sanitation workmen.

STRATEGY:

The ultimate objective of AIDS is to provide the opportunities on an equal basis in order that Indian peoples may gain income or increase their level of income and their standard of living on a parity with the best of the dominant society, by development of their reserves and natural and human resources.

One immediate purpose of the AIDS system is to provide an overall view of programs needed on Indian reserves, and from these needs, estimated costs may be arrived at in order that a commitment of funds can be secured. It is vital that the extent of funding be established in order that project planning and implementation may be afforded that maximum flexibility at the reserve level necessary to meet the immediate needs of the reserve, group or individual concerned.

We must no longer ignore the potential contribution of private enterprise – for it makes up the strength of our country. It is very probable that the lack of private enterprise participation is one of the principle causes of failure to solve the problems of the poor and underdeveloped.

Many businessmen are aware of the challenge and eager to meet it. The most effective way to encourage new enterprise in reserve communities is through tax incentives and labour guarantees. This concept of government incentives to induce desired investments by private industry is not new. Tax credits, charitable contribution deductions, oil and mineral development incentives, accelerated depreciation, extra payroll deductions, low-interest loans, and numerous other ways have always been used by government as incentives to develop special areas or to handle special situations.

The entry of private enterprise must be in tune with the life and spirit of the reserve communities. Its role must complement the other efforts being made in the reserve communities. Everything that is done must be in direct response to the needs and wishes of the people themselves. To do this, it will be necessary to assist bands with the complete development of self-government through which they can express their wishes. Therefore, the heart of the private enterprise program aimed at eliminating poverty conditions is the local tribal government. A climate of trust, cooperation, and partnership must develop to achieve success.

Private enterprise and reserve governments will be assisted by all the resources of a provincial community development corporation set up by the Indian Association of Alberta – the Alberta Indian Development System. It would ensure that what is done involves not just the physical development of the reserves, but the development of the educational system concepts as embodied within the Indian Education Centre. The AIDS program recognizes the fact that there must be a unique or special type of educational system geared to meet the demands of Indian people in order to prepare them to fit into the mainstream of Canadian life; the necessity to be identified as Indian first and Canadian second.

The AIDS corporation would ensure that what is done to create jobs and build homes, builds the reserves as well, and builds new and continuing opportunities for its people.

They would be the source of technical assistance to local businessmen. And they would be the main channel through which outside aid – government or private – enters the reserve level. They would have the opportunity to make every government program and many private efforts more effective than before.

The critical element in the structure, financial and otherwise of this AIDS Corporation will be the full and dominant participation by the Indian people of the reserves concerned. There are a variety of means by which they could at once contribute to the betterment of their immediate conditions, and build a base for full participation in the economy. Such self-help programs must be completely controlled by

the Indian people themselves. In this way they can literally lift themselves up by their own bootstraps. The programs cannot come from the top down. The leadership for these self-help initiatives must come from the people who live where the problems are. The people must know that the programs belong to them, and that the successes as well as the failures will be theirs, too.

This Indian Development System must enter into partnership with industry to enlist resources thus far unavailable to Indian communites – sufficient to mount a real attack on the intertwined problems of housing and jobs, education and income. This will require funds from the senior government, grants from the provincial government and private sources, loans and technical ccoperation from industry and commerce, trained manpower and organization from labour unions, academic and educational partnership with the universities, funds for educational partnership with the universities, funds for educational partnership with the universities, funds for education and training such as those provided under many present government programs.

The Development System would make special efforts in the field of on-the-job training. Not only will job training be needed to make initial employment possible; just as important, the availability of jobs will make the training programs more meaningful than they have been before.

Our conventional educational system must be replaced by new concepts as embodied within the proposed Indian Education Centre and should be directly integrated with the development effort. For there is real hope of solving many of our most serious educational problems within such a program – the central problem of motivation, for example, would be directly confronted. Without the need to discipline unmotivated students, the schools would find it far easier to educate students who wish to learn. The school curricula should be revised and directed accordingly, directly heading toward the new opportunities being opened; not just in the immediate program, but in the fields of public service employment, band administration and in the new industries established.

THE SYSTEM (AIDS):

The Alberta Indian Development System incorporates two broad fields of endeavour; development in parallel of business and industry and that of human resources. It proposes to fulfill the following objectives:

1. To provide a substantial monetary pool in order to infuse sufficient working capital and total effort into Indian Reserves of Alberta.

2. Create jobs and business opportunities for Indian people both on and off the Indian Reserves.

3. Give Indian people a controlling voice in every decision that affects their lives.

4. Develop each program in such a way that Indian people can continue on their own as soon as outside aid is no longer necessary.

5. Plan each program as one part of a total effort that interrelates education, skill training, jobs, capital formation, credit, housing, communication, leadership and management expertise.

6. To provide a resource pool of personnel equipped with the necessary knowledge and expertise from which Indian peoples may draw in order to develop the essential educational and economic base.

7. To encourage and assist Indian peoples to take the lead to formulate policies and programs within the System to satisfy their own needs.

The Alberta Indian Development System is not a program by which vast amounts of money are pumped into Indian Reserves as a temporary stop-gap measure. The aim and strategy of AIDS is to get the highest possible return for every dollar in terms of measurable income-producing job opportunities, income-producing activities, recoverable human resoures, development of human productive, contributory and participatory potential, and development of the physical and natural resources of the Indian Reserves.

AIDS – THE DUAL CORPORATION CONCEPT

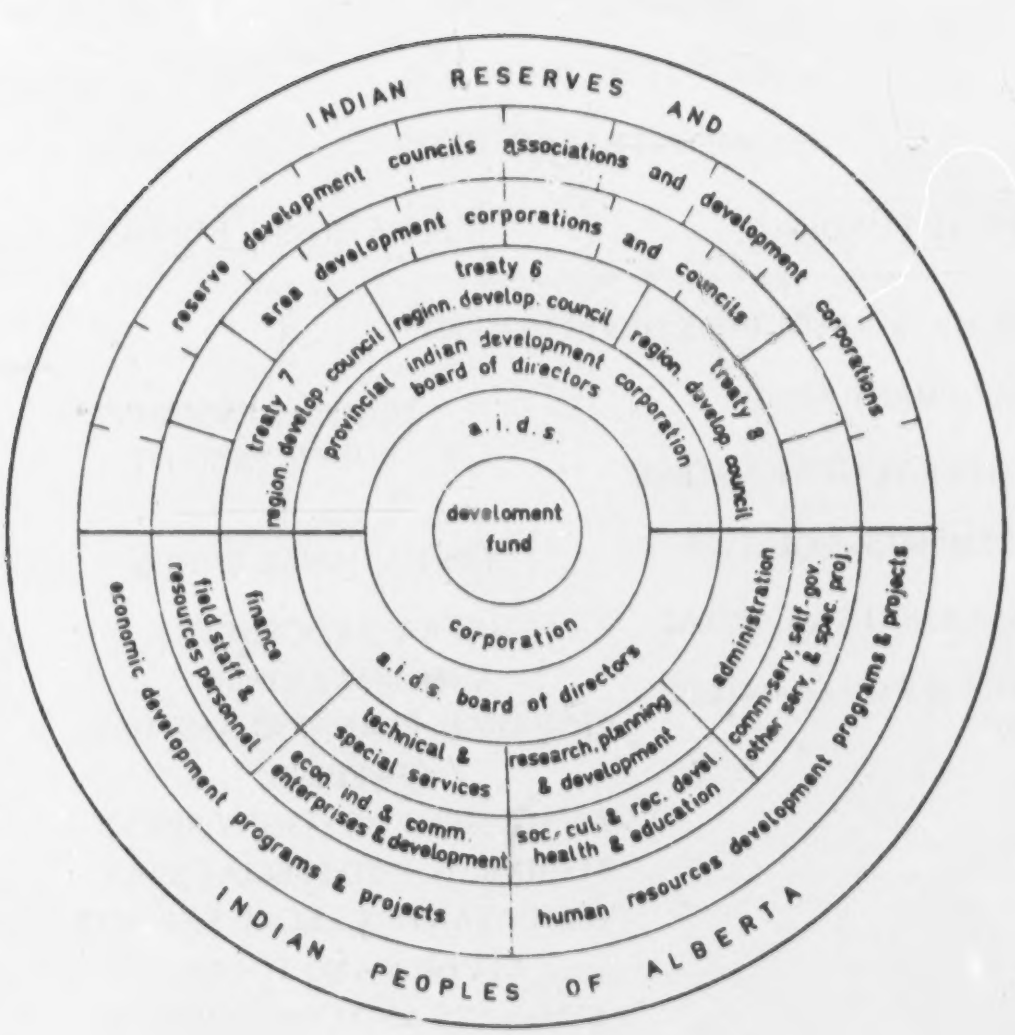
The principles of the Alberta Indian Development System will be applied through the dual corporation concept which in itself will be functionally simple in design. The various administrative strata are reduced to a bare minimum in order to allow for maximum of effect and communications so vital to grass-roots peoples and their problems; ease of two-way communications and efficient coordination is central to the development core – the decision and policy mechanism.

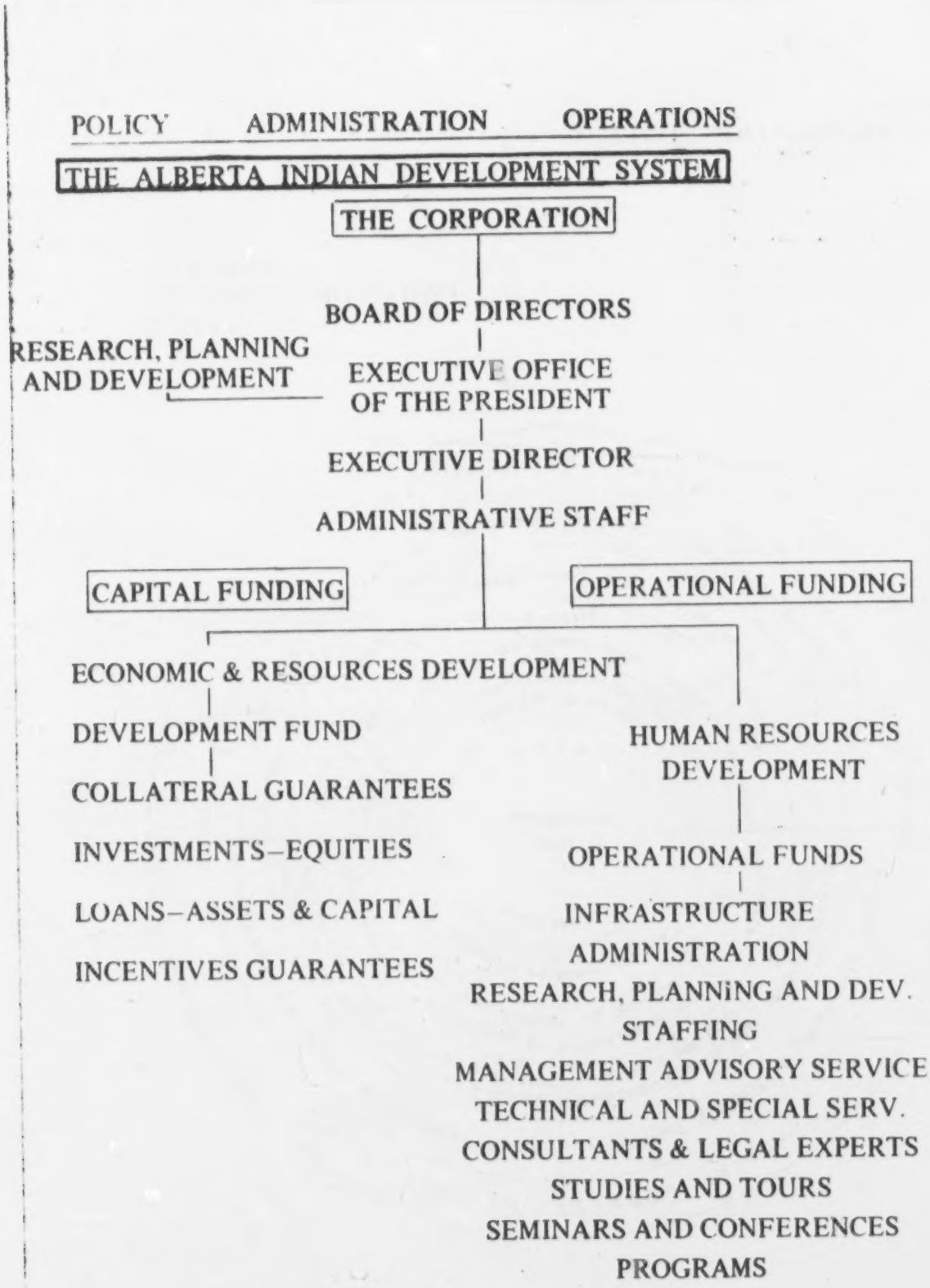
Operationally, the dual corporation concept will take the following form: two non-profit corporations, one composed of reserve people and one composed of people from private enterprise will be structured. The one formed by top native leaders from the reserve level will be responsible for the establishment of goals and priorities, and daily management of all projects. The other, made up of outstanding business leaders, drawn from the highest ranks of non-native corporate power, advises on economic development activity and seeks private investment, a supply of funds, job creation, and advises on the application of the Development Fund. Under this charter, their broad purposes are to promote, assist, participate in and coordinate the economic, physical and social developments.

The dual corporation structure, acting in partnership, will provide the necessary and effective vehicle for attacking problems of Indian Reserves in Alberta.

DUAL CORPORATION CONCEPT

THE ALBERTA INDIAN DEVELOPMENT SYSTEM




POLICY
ADMINISTRATION
OPERATIONS
THE ALBERTA INDIAN DEVELOPMENT SYSTEM
THE CORPORATION
BOARD OF DIRECTORS
RESEARCH, PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT
EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
ADMINISTRATIVE STAFF
CAPITAL FUNDING
OPERATIONAL FUNDING
ECONOMIC & RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT
DEVELOPMENT FUND
COLLATERAL GUARANTEES
INVESTMENTS–EQUITIES
LOANS–ASSETS & CAPITAL
INCENTIVES GUARANTEES
HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT
OPERATIONAL FUNDS
INFRASTRUCTURE
ADMINISTRATION
RESEARCH, PLANNiNG AND DEV.
STAFFING
MANAGEMENT ADVISORY SERVICE
TECHNICAL AND SPECIAL SERV.
CONSULTANTS & LEGAL EXPERTS
STUDIES AND TOURS
SEMINARS AND CONFERENCES
PROGRAMS

THE RESERVE CORPORATIONS

The major activity of reserve development councils would be to recommend to the Development Corporation an economic development plan for each Band of the Province.

To achieve this objective, three steps would be involved:

1. A detailed analysis of each Band economy;

2. Formation of Band development strategy;

3. Development of specific programs.

1. Detailed Analysis of Each Band Economy

Much information already exists concering the Band economy; this would be assembled at one point, its adequacy assessed, and steps taken to add to it where required.

Each Reserve Planning group would carry out the following analysis:

A. Sector Analysis of Major Economic Activities

Each regional group would, in conjunction with specialist assistance, carry out a detailed analysis of the basic economic sectors of a Band or group of Bands. Ultimately, a detailed and co-ordinated plan would be prepared for each sector.

B. Infrastructure. Each reserve planning group would carry out an assessment of the infrastructure requirements of the band or bands. This would also include an assessment of the need for any improved community services. Any infrastructure would, if approved, be financed by the Federal departments concerned.

Economic Sector	Points to be coverd by analysis of each sector
Forestry Fishing Mining Manufacturing Tourism Commercial Services. Construction Fur Industry	1. Geographical Location 2. Products and Processes 3. Manufacturing Costs 4. Location of Markets 5. Sources of Suply 6. Labour Productivity 7. Transportation Costs 8. Local Expansion Potential 9. Export Potential 10. Special Problems Restricting Development

Table A

Economic Sector	Points to be covered by analysis of each other
Energy Transportation Water Education Housing Other Community Services	1. Adequacy of Present Services 2. Cost of Services 3. Indicated Improvements and Modifications

Table B

C. **Population**. Each reserve planning group would undertake any required demographic studies and projections.

D. **Regional Summary**. Studies would be carried out to cover regional employment, regional output and regional income of a band or group of bands.

E. **Special Measures**. If indicated by the analysis, the reserve planning group would investigate special measures to deal with the question of excess manpower. Such measures might include labour mobility and the possibility of utilizing induced industries.

2. **Formation of Community Planning Strategy**

The inter-disciplinary 'global' analysis outlined above constitutes a massive attempt to understand the total economic and social structure of a band or group of bands and takes the inevitable step in regional development. The results of the analysis would contribute to a deeper insight into the basic problems facing a band, and would provide the indispensable factual basis on which a community group could recommend a soundly based community planning strategy. Such a strategy would consider band population and needs in relation to development potential, and would indicate ways to stimulate useful trends and eliminate barriers to growth. The regional strategy could be expectd to answer the following questions:

A. Which economic sectors can be expected to grow, at what rate, and how much employment is expected to be created?

B. Which new industries could be introduced into the region and at what rate?

C. What barriers to economic development need to be removed?

D. What is the best spatial arrangement of towns and settlements in view of the expected pattern of development?

E. What improvements to infrastructure are required? To what extent should social amenities be improved?

F. How much surplus manpower is forecast, and how could such manpower be employed?

(i) To what extent is it practical to encourage labour mobility within a region or even to other regions as a means of utilizing excess manpower?

(ii) To what extent should industries be induced into reserves? Would it be to the long-term benefit of the people? Is the idea technically feasible?

3. **Development of Specific Programs**

Once the over-all reserve planning strategy has been accepted by the Alberta Indian Development System Corporation, specific development programs can be formulated and introduced. Such programs would have the best possible chance of real success because they would address themselves to the total problems of each developing band. The need for such a total approach to development has been repeatedly stressed by development authorities.

HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT FUND (HELP)

The Home Education Learn Program (HELP) is basically, in its vital stages a job training orientation program – a grass-roots manpower program aimed at developing those areas of personal concern which must first require the necessary ministrations in order to prepare an individual for the g.eater goals. The program content in itself is geared to the armchair level and couched in terms which are readily understandable by the Indian Peoples at the reserve level.

There were programs that had been initiated by Government, but they tended to screen out the people who needed them most. They did not reach into the concentrated reserve areas where the most frustrated were. They demanded too high an "entrance" level, thereby excluding the people needing these programs most.

The "HELP" Program is a program of the people, by the people, for the people, in the beginning where the people were – where the people themselves would guide and control its destiny its successes or perhaps its failures. It is a program whereby Indian people will re-discover self confidence, dignity pride and self-respect. There is a need of Indian people to re-discover identity but to be able to meaningfully relate this identity to present society, to take their place in this society and with it, its responsibilities and the ability to discharge these same responsibilities.

The "HELP" Program will help develop an attitude in a person. It is not only important to give a person a skill, for a skill without the attitude still makes that person a poor employee or leader. Within the home unit, values must be learned – consumer values and the value of a dollar. The value of the country in which he was one of the original people and of which he is still very much a part, the need to appreciate, the need to build, the value of a job, the value of his relation to that job and industry, the value that he is an investment in the future, all these he must learn and the "HELP" program must teach this.

PROGRAM CONTENTS:

(1) Home Education Learn Program (HELP);

(2) Dynamics of sensitivity and re-orientation programs;

(3) Operational attitude, motivation and incentive programs;

(4) Studies, tours, seminars, workshops, conferences;

(5) Academic re-orientation, basic and up-grading;

(6) Assessment and evaluation programs;

(7) Pre-vocational schedules;

(8) Vocational and job-training;

(9) Counselling;

(10) Job placement;

(11) On job counselling and follow-up; and

(12) Re-training, skills and specialist training.

THE DEVELOPMENT FUND

The capital pools' primary purpose will be to provide money based on the following objectives:

1. Guarantee fund to give the necessary incentives to provide and induce the favorable atmosphere to encourage private enterprise to locate on or near reserves and participation in joint or cooperative economic development.

2. Collateral fund to enable reserve corporations to borrow from conventional sources such as banks, credit corporations and other such financial institutions.

3. Provide loans for fixed assets, to encourage growth, to enable development of self-sufficiency and viability.

4. Provide working capital to encourage development of group enterprises and individual enterprises.

5. Provision of investment opportunities to bridge equity gaps of applicants.

6. Financing, as loans or collateral, of dual corporation developments of a major nature.

FUNDING: Participants.

CAPITAL DEVELOPMENT FUND

It is proposed that the funding of the development pool and the operational fund should ideally take the following course based upon the area and degree of past, present, and future projections, particularly in terms of performance input as related to anticipated output, of the various participants concerned.

CAPITAL FUND -- 50 Million dollars

Federal Government – 30 million dollars:

Indian Affairs and Northern Development
Department of National Health and Welfare
Department of Regional Economic Expansion
Department of Secretary of State
Department of Agriculture
Manpower and Immigration
Forestry and Rural Development
Housing and Urban Renewal
Industrial Development Branch

Provincial Government – 10 million dollars:

Human Resources Development Authority
Provincial Health and Social Development
Department of Education
Department of Agriculture
Department of Youth
Department of Lands and Forests
(Fish and Wildlife)
Department of Industry and Tourism

Private Industry – 8.7 million dollars

Indian Peoples of Alberta – 1.3 million dollars

OPERATIONAL FUND – BUDGET	Annual Average	Infrastructure Five Years
Policy and Administration		
Executive and Staff	$100,000	$ 500,000
Travel	25,000	125,000
Training and Publications	10,000	50,000
Technical, Feasibility, Management and other Studies	20,000	100,000
Facilities and Maintenance	20,000	100,000
Equipment and Maintenance	35,000 (initial)	20,000 (4 yrs.)
Communications and Public Relations	10,000	50,000
Sub-Total	$220,000	$ 945,000
Planning Research and Development		
Consultants, Specialists, and Experts	150,000	750,000
Research, Programs, Evaluation	50,000	250,000
Sub-Total	$200,000	$1,000,000
Board of Directors (Corporate)		
Honorariums (10)	54,000	270,000
Travel and Tours, Studies and Evaluations	20,000	100,000
Sub-Total	$ 74,000	$ 370,000
Board of Directors (Native)		
Honorariums (20)	54,000	270,000
Travel and Tours, Studies and Evaluations	40,000	200,000
Sub-Total	$ 94,000	$ 470,000
TOTAL	$588,000	$2,785,000

SOCIO-HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT

	Annual Average	Five Years
Resources Co-ordinators (Management)	$ 225,000	$ 1,275,000
General Counsellors (Field Staff–42)	100,000	500,000
Leadership and Local Self-government (Health, Family Living, Community Structures, etc.)	100,000	500,000
Field Advisory and Consultants – Specialists (Include travel, etc.)	80,000	400,000
Youth and Recreational – Cultural Development (Facilities, Aids, Training Communication, Libraries, Arts, Crafts, Language, etc.)	200,000	1,000,000
Opportunities and Job Training Orientation (Manpower, Placement, Projects, etc.)	500,000	2,500,000
Recreation, Incentives, Travel, Interim Assistance (Based on 500 families @ $1,500/ family with 100 families a year anticipated in Relocation)	150,000	750,000
Travel, Studies, Tours, Conferences, Workshops	50,000	250,000
Other Programs	10,000	50,000
Vocational Training and Adult Education (HELP Programs – Residential and Facilities excluding IEC concept facilities)	800,000	4,000,000
Training Allowances (150 @ $3,600)	540,000	2,700,000
Communications and Publications	10,000	50,000
TOTAL	$2,795,000	$13,975,000

SUMMARY OF OPERATIONAL BUDGET

		Annual Average	Five Years
Administration		$ 220,000	$ 945,000
Research, Planning and Development		200,000	1,000,000
Boards (Dual Corporations)	(a)	74,000	370,000
		94,000	470,000
Sub-Total		588,000	2,785,000
Socio-Human Resources Development		2,795,000	13,975,000
TOTAL		$3,383,000	$16,760,000

SPECIAL PROGRAMS

Aside from the conventional types of training programs used in their present form, the social development facet of the AIDS Corporation recognizes the fact that unique problems exist in so far as development of Indian people are concerned. We are faced with an area of development which concerns all ages and all levels of reserve and off-reserve life, each with their own peculiarities.

In order to obtain development of human resources in total, special programs are devised. Specifically, these programs will enable the individual to once again come into tune, to enable him or her, within this re-orientation; but now with a self-level of resources to suit individual requirements, to make the choice whether they will live in a reserve tribal society, that, while maintaining its differences, is an integral part of the dominant society or whether they will become a part of the mainstream.

An example of a special type program is one that will place emphasis on the senior citizen type, a potential contributory force that is discriminated only by an arbitrary definition. A program of this nature will include the basic fundamentals necessary to give a "new lease" on life in order that the senior Indian citizens may gain once more a meaningful existence. The program would include counselling, testing, job placement, training referral, and job placement. The primary objective is to place such senior citizens in jobs that they can do best and in which they feel most at ease. It is envisioned that the majority will be employed in counselling in turn to others, providing services in guidance and home counselling, family life and related community service jobs, rehabilitation, cultural development, and also helping other senior citizens and the handicapped to a better place in life.

Within any community, there is direct need for parttime services, "filler" people, and seasonal services in which the older person, unable or not concerned with, or ill-equipped to maintain full time positions, can serve a useful and functional purpose and feel pride and satisfaction in doing so. Generally speaking, the older people have a high productivity rate, better judgement, reliability and more often than not, more desireable characteristics.

Another type of special program is aimed at the so called "recoverable" human resources, the chronic hardcore jobless unemployable; the products of correctional institutions and reformatories who are usually totally alienated from both societies; the chronic welfare recipient who is probably third generation and has adopted this "out" from reality and life; the alcoholic who got his start on skid row because he was not properly equipped to cope with urban life after being lured there with the best of intentions because he wanted to escape the non-life of the past reserve resident; the products of broken homes, graduates of orphanages and foster homes, these and all others who do not or cannot fit into the conventional aspects of society. The program will incorporate the practical concepts of all existing types, but will focus on the individual disadvantages of a special nature, be flexible to change in order to conform to changes of the individual involved and most important be "receptive" in nature.

A massive program of recreational and cultural development on a provincial basis and involving all Indian people will be initiated. A proposal within these guidelines will emanate from the reserve level, will involve resource personnel available locally and from the outside on a one to one basis. One objective of this program will be an all-Indian olympics, first on a provincial basis, then hopefully, on a national basis.

The suggested philosophy and spirit embodied in these and other special programs is based upon the concept that each individual has a meaningful place in life, first to himself, then the family unit, the community, the society as a whole, and be recognized on the basis of individual merit rather than be defined by race, colour or creed.

F.3. INDIAN EDUCATION CENTRE

Explanation: In March 1970 the Indian Association of Alberta submitted to the Government and the party caucuses in Ottawa two briefs which are very positive and hopeful outlines of action. The proposal for economic development was excerpted above in F.2. Excerpts from the second proposal are presented below. This proposal is wide-ranging, and has implications for Indian education, the maintenance of Indian culture, and the development of Indian communities.

ALBERTA INDIAN EDUCATION CENTRE

THE OBJECTIVES

The primary objective of the Indian Education Centre is to provide a setting and a learning environment in which Indian men, women and children may develop a deep understanding of themselves, of their history, and of their individual potential. Through this understanding they may relate, as Canadian Indians, to the future of Alberta and to Canada as a whole.

To reach its objectives, the Centre, its staff, students and other participants will:

(1) Develop ways of successfully applying to the modern Canadian milieu the ways of the Indian people which have helped them to survive in Canada over the millennia.

(2) ,Teach individuals the various beliefs, attitudes, skills, ceremonials, relevant to their past which will be necessary for the Indian people to continue to survive in the dominant Canadian society.

(3) Teach individuals the modern skills and behaviours needed to utilize the dominant Canadian society's benefits for the good of the Indian people generally.

The Centre will concentrate in all of the specialized education areas, and, indeed, throughout the whole student program, on the development and maintenance of the Indian languages and heritage of the members of the forty-two (42) bands. Through these developmental activities, through the involvement of the students in these activities, individual awareness, sensitivity, and self-esteem will be built and maintained. Through the language, culture and self re-affirmation activities, spiritual strength will be developed. Spiritual strength will provide the motivation and the initiative for the students of the Indian Education Centre to compete successfully with their fellow citizens of Canada for the rewards of the modern affluent dominant society.

EDUCATION PROGRAMMES

COUNSELLING PERIOD

Students will enter the Centre by and through contact with their "Band Room" and the permanent Band Representative there. The Band representative will attempt to guide the new student in his initial contact with the Centre and its programmes.

UNIT I Band Room orientation and counselling.

(a) Introduction to Centre, registration, evaluation. Each new student will need to fulfill his immediate needs and to become familiar with the Centre's potential. The Band Representative will help the student to fulfil his most immediate needs and to locate his long term educational and personal goals. Each student will need minimal records of his entry and progress, at least. These will be begun by the Band Representative. Also, the Centre will have to know about the student (beyond the reason for his recruitment) so that both Band Representatives and instructional staff may advise him and guide him. Of course, each student must become aware of his student and staff co-members of the Centre.

(b) Council Chamber - ceremony and communication. Each student should be welcomed appropriately to the Centre. Each student should become used to meeting with fellow students and staff in council on common needs and interests.

(c) Residential Areas. Each student will, depending upon marital status, have to become familiar with group or family living facilities. The Band Representatives will attempt to help in developing working residential groups in the Residence Clusters. Group dynamics (sensitivity) training will be used to speed up inter-personal communication and understanding.

(d) Orientation seminars and group counselling. Groups of incoming students will be used to discuss with Band Representatives and academic staff programme possibilities and to assist in developing individual "curricula" or development programmes.

(e) Archival – museum – cultural seminars. Band Representatives and other counselling staff will assist in the orienting of the student to the cultural potential of the Band Rooms, archives, and museum materials. The goal will be to begin the development of the student's sense of belonging to the Indian community and its educational Centre.

Time: Two – Four Weeks (the focus of the Band Representative, the Band Rooms, Council Chamber, and near-by archives and cultural displays should not end at any time during the student's stay at the Centre. All subsequent activities should refer in part to this early orientation).

LANGUAGE AREAS

Language programmes will be based upon the Indian languages spoken in the province. These are (tentatively):

Cree
Blackfoot
Stony
Chipewyan
Slavey
Sarcee
Beaver
Salteaux (Ojibway)

UNIT I Language Learning Skills

Language Laboratory Skills
Technical Skills
Learning how to learn languages using modern methods and modern technical tools will be basic in each language group.

a) Language Learning.

Learning by using linguistic techniques, linguistic sound transcription, and linguistic analytical tools.

b) Language Laboratory.

Learning by programmed instruction, listening labs, tape-recording, taped narrative listening, oral recording and re-recording.

c) Technical Skills.

Learning by co-operative programmed instructional packages (for own group and others to follow). Videotape recording of speaking style and direction and preparation of Centre broadcast tapes will be used.

of Centre broadcast tapes will be used.

Time: Six to Eight Weeks.

UNIT II Literature.

a) Native narrative style - content.

Development of style and form in the telling of Indian history, religious stories, speech making, and other forms of formal speech. Listening to noted speakers and medicine men, construction of individual narratives, learning of stories and meanings, recording of noted speakers and of students, and the relationship of stories to musical narratives will be taught.

b) Group recording of oral tapes and video-tapes.

Time: Four to Six Weeks.

UNIT III Reading.

a), Translation of Indian narrative into English.

The learning of the differences in style and content between the languages.

b) Speed Reading (English).

Learn the technique of rapid reading to increase both volume and content retention.

c) . Topical Reading (English).

Novels, poems, news stories, government documents, financial statements, scientific reports will be read.

d) ' Writing.

Creative writing using both Indian and English narrative style, preparation of oral presentations in both languages, preparation of briefs and submissions, financial reports, research reports, and legal submissions will be practiced.

Time: Six to Eight Weeks.

UNIT IV Comparative Literature.

a) , Comparison of folklore and oral traditions of Canadian Indian peoples.

b) Comparison of North American folklore and literature including French, English, Ukrainian, Icelandic, etc...

c) Canadian novels and poetry as compared to Old World literature (including some "classical" literature, literature of South America and other developing nations.

d) Creative writing using themes and content of the literature of the dominant society.

Time: Four to Six Weeks.

UNIT V Oral Communication.

a) . Develop communication skills in Indian and English languages.

b) Develop awareness of styles appropriate to different communications media.

c) Application of communications skills through A.N.C.S. educational broadcasting.

Time: Four Weeks (SIX TO EIGHT MONTHS FOR LANGUAGE LEARNING)

SPECIALIZED EDUCATION

Programmes in special areas of education are to be undertaken by students who are successfully coming to grips with the technical and learning problems of self-development and language learning. As they develop **learning skills** and the necessary self-awareness they may be advised by their Band Representative and members of the instructional and counselling staff that they may, if they wish, move to these more specialized training areas. Although the topics in these specialized areas relate directly to personal or individual success in the dominant society. they will be entered into by students who will be in continuing contact with the culture, the language, and the history of **their** people in **their** home communities. Each step in the learning of these specialized topics will be based upon the student's developing sensitivities for the meaning and substance of Indian life in his own community. For this reason each major step or programme will be based upon a progression from its meaning for him as an individual and as a member of a special Alberta Indian community.

The Student will be involved in many other Centre activities while learning about the specialized knowledge of the dominant society. In his residence, in council, in ceremony, and in many media of expression the Indian student will be presented opportunities to see himself, his Indian world, and the components of the dominant society in a variety of relationships, one to another. From these views he will be able to build the intimate yet separate relationship between himself and the complexity of modern Canadian society. From the specialized education he will receive he will recognize the nature of the necessary relationship between himself and the dominant society, and he will learn about what he must know to survive in that society. Yet, he will not lose himself in the complexity of education for life in that society.

SOCIAL RELATIONS AREA

(Students may begin this aspect of the programme as early as the 4th (12th) week of the Language area (Unit II, "Literature").

UNIT I Community and Group Relations.

a) "T" Groups, encounter groups, sensitivity training.

Learning of group and individual psychology in group sessions based upon experience in early Centre Counselling period.

b) Family living.

Learning of child development, family relations and responsibilties, the family in the kin group, from: 1) living in residential clusters, 2) the sociology of the family, 3) the Indian family in history, 4) the Indian family in the reserve.

c) , The local community and band today.

Learning of the development of and about the future of each student's local area from his Band Representative and from archival and contemporary resources. Learning how it fits in Canadian society.

d) The tribe, today, yesterday and long ago.

Learning about various explanations of how the student's tribe came to be, learning about traditional relations within the tribe and between other tribes, learning about the meaning of the tribe today and tomorrow. The importance of tribal life to Canada today.

e) Human evolution and change.

Anthropological explanations of how change has come about in the past and the major themes of life around the world.

Time: Four to Six Weeks.

UNIT II Governmental Relations.

a) Indian Treaties.

Studying the nature of Treaties today, their status in Canadian law, international law, and in other countries. The history of Canadian Treaties and what they mean to Canadian Indians.

b) Indian Act and Provincial Administrative codes.

Administrative law under either the parliament or legislature, constitutional meanings.

c) Band by-laws, municipal by-laws, licensing and certification.

Learning about local law, and professional codes.

d) Criminal law and courtroom procedures.

(See: Technical Relations, Advanced Technics, Unit II) Learning about the Criminal Code of Canada, procedures rights, and obligations.

Time: Four to Six Weeks.

(Governmental relations may be expanded or specialized in Advanced Technics as either a Band Scout or Court Worker.)

UNIT III Economic and Political Development.

a) Local politics and economics.

Learning about the present and future of each student's home community from the Band Representative and the archives. Learning about the relationship between kinsmen and neighbours and political and economic development. Group learning may be used.

b) Alberta and Western Canadian politics and economy.

(Related to Unit I and Unit II of Social Relations) The politics and economics of Indians in Western Canada.

c) North America and the Western Hemisphere; politics and economics.

(Also related to Units I and II) The politics and economics of both developed and underdeveloped countries, the politics of underdevelopment, the roles of government and business.

d) Group dynamics in politics and work; leadership of political and occupational groups.

Learning different forms of leadership and the psychology of different groups related to political action, economic achievement. (See: Technical Relations, General Technics, Unit II.)

Time: Four to Six Weeks.

(Economic and political development may be expanded upon or extended in Advanced Technics as either a Community Worker or a Development Worker.)

UNIT IV Community Development and Leadership.

a) "T" group study of human development and of individual psychology.

Learning about the psychology of persons as members of groups or as individuals. The political psychology of groups and communities.

b) History and biographical study of Indian Leaders.

Historial and comparative study of Indian leadership of the past and the present.

c) Structure of business leadership.

How leadership works in unions, corporations, small businesses, and associations of independent contractors.

d) Structure of Government leadership.

How leadership works in parliament, the legislature, among aldermen, in the civil service.

Time: Four to Six Weeks.
(FOUR TO SIX MONTHS OF SOCIAL RELATIONS LEARNING.)

ACADEMIC RELATIONS AREA

(May begin as early as the 10th week of the language area; Unit III, "Reading".)

General Education

Unit I Basic Skills.

a) , Speed reading, topical reading (See: Language, Unit III for topics, includes high school, college, technical training textbook material).

b) Programmed mathematics.

Both individual and group study of programmed maths for quick comprehension and conceptual learning.

c) Laboratory techniques.

1) Biological sciences labs (applied biology and academic biology, zoology, ecology).
2) Physical sciences.
3) Medical and health sciences.

d) Plastic Arts, Musical Arts, Dramatic Arts.

Creativity laboratories using various media and emphasizing the historic and contemporary Indian styles.

UNIT II Up-grading.

a) Provincial curriculum concept analysis and personal acceleration programme.

Isolating individual weaknesses and relating them to the Provincial curriculum demands.

To provide the standardized communication/examination skills.

Time: Twelve Weeks.

Advanced Education.

Unit I High School Matriculation Survey

Student needs in relation to obtaining matriculation or diploma status.

a) Language requirements (student needs)

b) Science – maths requirements (student needs)

c) Social studies requirements (student needs)

d) Fine arts requirements (student needs)

e) Topical tutoring for individual student programmes

UNIT II University – College preparatory.

a) University curriculum survey (from student needs)

b) College curriculum survey (from student needs)

c) Vocational training survey (from student needs)

UNIT III Testing and prerequisite preparation.

a) Ability testing and development of skills applicable to post-secondary education.

The development of those particular skills necessary for educational success in University, College, and Vocational education beyond high school.

UNIT IV Topical Education.

a) Indian religion and practice.

A programme to develop in specific students the understanding necessary for the preservation of Indian religious life.

b) Community and tribal communication.

A program to assist community workers in using the existing communications systems of Reserves. To train native communications workers.

c) Social psychology and leadership.

Training in the psychology of successful leadership. The application of group techniques in contemporary political, occupational, developmental activities.

d) Human and general ecology.

A programme to train farmers, forestry workers, fishermen, hunters, guides, and trappers in modern ecological thinking.

e) Economics and politics of contemporary Indian communities.

The comparative study of Canadian Indians from both the economic and political views. Comparison to Indian life in the U.S.

f) Community recreation.

A programme for the study of the role of recreation and sport in Indian life. The importance of a strong physical side to the person.

Time: Twelve weeks or three months.

(Academic development programmes are generally not taken successively, indeed, no one need take them all. One is expected to concentrate on one's own interests and needs). Academic relations programmes are to be designed to operate concurrently with social and technical relations programmes as well as the language programmes.

TECHNICAL RELATIONS AREA

(May begin as early as the 16th week of the Language area Unit IV, "Comparative Literature".)

General Technics

Unit 1 Tools; their meaning and their use.

A preparatory programme for vocational or technical education. The

purpose will be to introduce various modern tools to trainees with limited employment backgrounds.

a) Communications tools (See: Language. Unit I)

b) Laboratory tools

c) Instructional tools (See: Language, Unit I, Academic relations. Unit I, Unit III)

d) Business (government – management) tools.

e) Business (clerical – sales) tools

f) Mechnical (stationary – mobile) tools

g) Construction – Engineering tools

h) Household and domestic tools

Unit II Social Relations and work.

(relates closely to Social Relations Units III and IV, and attempts to relate the worker to his environment)

a) The relationship between the community, the tribe, places of government, places of business to kinds of jobs and job opportunities. The social structure of economic opportunity.

b) The social World or work.

Group dynamics and work situations. The social psychology of the job situation and how to make it work for you.

c) Tehnical environments and work.

The effects of technology on work situations.

d) The Indian community and work.

Leadership, parenthood and other responsibilities as related to the work situation.

Time: Twelve to Sixteen Weeks.

Advanced Technics

Unit I Vocational Development.

(A programme to develop a general understanding of technical training and employment. Preparation for entering various business and technical training insitutions.)

a) Technical trades and technical education.

Tutoring for technical education – apprenticeship.

b) Business skills and business education.

Tutoring for business education and employment.

c) Applied technology.

Tutoring for employment in jobs or trades already experienced by the trainee.

d) Household economy.

Tehnical training for the home.

UNIT II Vocational Preparation.

(A programme to provide the basic training for individuals who wish to work at vocations available within the Indian community.)

a) Band scout – constable training (See: social relations, Units I and II) The basic training in understanding the Indian community as a law enforcement officer.

b) Court worker – Penal counsellor training. (See: Social relations, Units I, II, and IV) Social work among Indian people in difficulty with the law, rehabilitation of ex-convicts.

c) A.V. Technician training.

Training for work in native communications, in audio-visual needs of Indian communities.

d) Native communications Worker training.

Training in the various mass media (journalism, radio, television, etc..)

e) Native Cultural Development Worker training.

Training in the community development aspect of native arts and crafts.

f) Community Health worker training.

Training as a sub-professional hygienist, adult educator in matters of family and community health.

g) Community Recreation worker training.

Training in the development of community recreation and sports activities in Indian communities.

h) Community Youth worker training.

Training in the development and guidance of Indian Youth Groups.

Time: Twelve to Sixteen Weeks.

(Guidance and preparation of those trainees who wish to enter these fields at the professional level is provided in the Academic Relations area.)

SELECTION OF SITE

For Alberta Indian Education Centre

General Background Information

A survey of possible sites for the Alberta Indian Education Centre was undertaken by the research committee, considering many criteria that relate to the overall centre environment and educational and cultural programme development plans. Among the vital criteria are:

1. a primeval forest setting that is compatible with Indian cultural and aesthetic value;

2. location near the approximate georgraphical centre of Alberta;

3. accessibility by all modes of transportation on an intra-provincial as well as inter-provincial basis;

4. availibility of supplementary educational facilities for students in training;

5. location near public utility services such as natural gas;

6. availability of broad community services such as shopping, business, professional;

7. convenient liaison with governmental and private agencies separate from A.I.E.C.;

8. Indian reserve vs. non-Indian reserve location.

With these major criteria in mind, the research committee gave consideration to a number of locations as sites for the A.I.E.C.:

In Defense of the Proposed Alberta Indian Education Centre

The following pages are intended to document some of the reasons underlying the proposal for the Alberta Indian Education Centre.

This section is not another critical or criticizing analysis of the past record of Indian education. The Indian people are becoming wary and weary of more research and surveys as it seems to them, they are fast becoming in the apt words of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., victims of "paralysis through analysis".

Therefore, random references to various studies made are herein used simply to verify what to the Indian people are stark everyday facts of life.

The section is divided into six parts:

A. The low educational standards of adult Indians.

B. The high proportion of drop-outs for Indian school children.

C. The root cause for the high drop-out rates.

D. Recommendations conventionally tendered for alleviating the educational problems.

E. The Alberta Indian Education Centre – a new concept.

F. Indicators of the workability of the Indian Education Centre.

A. The Low Educational Standards of Adult Indians.

It is a truism that in Alberta, and in anada generally, the educational level of adult Indians is well below the level of the dominant white society.

At one time not too long ago, it was considered that Indians were ineducable. H. B. Hawthorn writes, "Before this time (the Second World War) education was not considered necessary for Indians in general".[1]

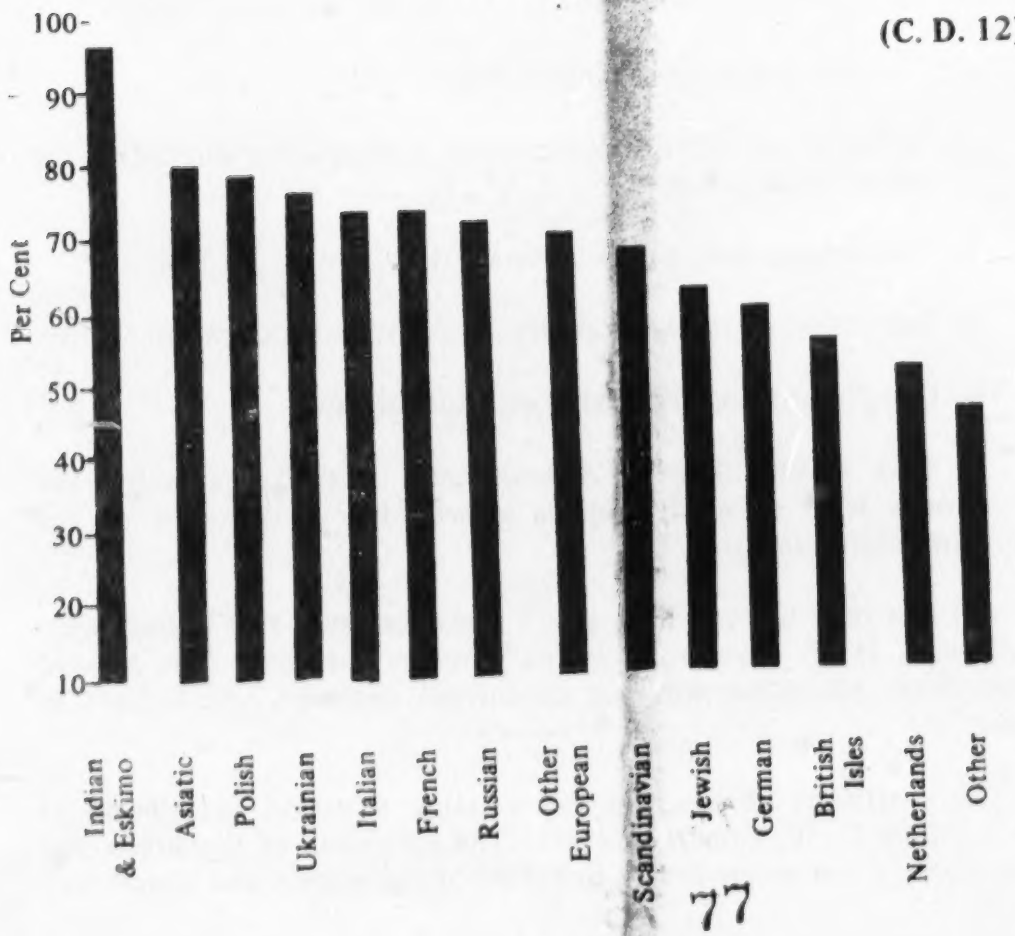
This attitude resulted in the existing situation in Alberta as described by C. W. Hobart in 1967, "the education of the adults and their mates is extremely low ... one third of the women and almost half

of the men have no education at all. Less that ten per cent have had more than eight years schooling".[2]

In a 1966 survey done in Census Division No. 12 which is in the northeastern portion of Alberta by V. Jansen et.al., it shows clearly that the Indian people have a low educational level.

PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION NOT ATTENDING SCHOOL WITH ELEMENTARY EDUCATION OR LESS BY ETHNIC ORIGIN

(C. D. 12)[3]



The ethnic group with the least education is native Indian.

As education is an all important aspect of life in modern Canadian society the ramification of poor or no schooling presents very serious problems for Indians if they are to participate in and be able to benefit from and contribute to the many other aspects of living in today's society.

Other indices of Indians dysfunctioning in society are manifested in their high infant mortality rates, shorter life span, dispropotionately high commital rates to penal institutions, lower employment rates, greater proportions of welfare recipients, all of which have been surveyed and recorded in many studies and statistical reports not catalogued in this paper.

In short, the Indian people in Canada are in serious social trouble, and the proposal embodied in the Alberta Indian Education Centre is one specific proposal conceived by Indian people to begin the ameliorative action they perceive to be necessary and emergent.

If Canada is not ready to begin corrective action the conditions are likely to worsen, rather than improve in the immediate future.

B. The High Proportion of Drop-outs.

It must be kept in mind that it was only following the Second World War that the education of the Indian people was given any serious thought, although, prior to that, schools were operated for Indians largely by various religious denomiations.

Following the Second World War many Day Schools were built in Indian Reserves. In the mid-fifties the policy of integration was being implemented and is being carried on to this day.

The numbers of Indian children attending school continues to rise as the Indian population continues to burgeon. However, the numbers that actually complete the schooling process has not kept pace with the number of children who actually do start school.

E. R. McEwan, the Executive Director of the Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada, states, "Statistically, attainment runs as follows: About 50 per cent of Indian students do not go beyond Grade VI and about 61 per cent fail to reach Grade VIII; about 97 per cent fail to reach Grade XII".[4]

This reference is to the national scale. His contention is further borne out by the Hawthorn Report, which states: "Analysis of Table 1 shows that the repetition of grades and of drop-outs are extremely high. Retention is Grade I and the loss of students in any twelve year period is alarming.

TABLE 1

PROGRESS OF INDIAN STUDENTS THROUGH A TWELVE YEAR SCHOOL CYCLE

Grade	Year	Enrollment	Loss (no.)	Loss (%)
1	1951	8782	—	—
2	1952	4544	4238	48.2
3	1953	3930	614	13.5
4	1954	3652	278	7.1
5	1955	3088	564	15.5
6	1956	2641	447	19.5
7	1957	2090	551	21.7
8	1958	1536	559	26.5
9	1959	1149	387	25.5
10	1960	730	419	36.5
11	1961	482	248	34.0
12	1962	341	141	29.3

In a period of twelve years, 8,441 Indian students out of 8,782 did not complete high school. Figures are not available which would specify the separate rates of retention and attrition. We are forced to use the gross figures which indicate there is a 94% loss of school population between grades one and twelve. The national rate of drop-outs for non-Indian students is approximately 12 per cent'".[5]

If the picture is bad on the national scale, it is no better on the provincial scale. In Saskatchewan, Davis et.al., described the situation as follows:

"(a) provincial schools in Northern Saskatchewan have a spectacular drop-out problem,

(b) those treaty Indian children attending Provincial schools in Northern Saskatchewan have an appreciably less successful school career than all other Northern students in the same schools. If we compare the failure rate for all Northern students with that for Indian students, it appears that Indian students are failing twice as often as the Provincial school population in the Northern Metis–Indian settlements. In Grade I, 48.9 per cent of the Northern students fail, but 72.1 per cent of the Indian students fail. In Grade II, 21.4 per cent of the Northern students fail, but 34.6 per cent of the Indian students fail. And so it continues through each grade.

(c) these particular Indian students in Northern Provincial schools are failing oftener, their discouragement is greater, and they drop out of school earlier".[6]

The same also holds true for the Federal Indian Day and Residential in the Province of Saskatchewan, as reported in the same study.

STUDENTS ENROLLED IN FEDERAL INDIAN DAY SCHOOLS AND FEDERAL INDIAN RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS IN THE SASKATCHEWAN REGION, JANUARY 1961

Grade	Day Schools	Residential Schools	Total
1	566	194	760
2	483	227	710
3	498	170	668
4	373	152	525
5	342	168	510
6	248	127	375
7	176	71	247
8	112	72	184
9	2	58	60
10	0	28	28
11	0	14	14
12	0	17	17

Source: Statistical Report in Promotion; Un-Promotion and Attendance, Education Division, Indian Affairs Branch, Department of Citizenship and Immigration; March, 1962".

And in the province of Alberta, the situation is quite the same, as the following table, prepared by Dr. J. W.Chalmers in 1967 illustrates:

GRADE DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN AND OTHER PUPILS (IN ALBERTA SCHOOLS)

1966–1967	Pupils in Indian Schools	Indian Pupils in Other Schools	Total Indian Pupils
Elementary	83.6%	65.5%	72.4%
Junior High	15.4%	26.5%	21.4%
Senior HIgh	1.0%	8.0%	6.2% (8)

If we use the tables showing the numbers of Indian Pupils attending the Federal Indian Day and Residential Schools, and in Alberta Provincial Schools, the figures appear as below:

NUMBER OF STUDENTS IN FEDERAL
and
ALBERTA PROVINCIAL SCHOOLS BY GRADES
1969 – 1970

Grade	Federal Schools	Provincial Schools	Total
K	522	193	768
1	538	637	1205
2	458	559	1040
3	438	524	979
4	440	528	978
5	324	492	832
6	292	484	786
7	198	448	651
8	136	355	527
9	86	340	481
10	36	266	342
11	—	158	165
12	—	125	134
	3468	5345	8996

Total (9)

All of the preceeding references paint a grim picture of the education of Indian students during the past years.

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In the Saskatchewan study, Davis et al refers to schooling of Indian pupils as "education for failure".[10] Many other studies and surveys made are replete with similar statistical findings. The problem is not confined to one area, but is national in scope.

It is in response to such a situation that the realization of having to take some corrective action; that the idea of the Alberta Indian Education Centre was born.

C. Cultural Differences . . . The Root Cause.

Ever since the coming of the White immigrants to this continent there has been some tension and conflict between them and the native people who inhabited the continent prior to their arrival.

In some areas, as in the western states of the U.S., there was open warfare. In Newfoundland, the Beothuks were actually exterminated. The relationship has been an unhappy one. As the immigrants increased in numbers, the natives decreased in numbers and the myth of the "vanishing Redman"[11] prevailed.

In the Forties the trend reversed itself and today the Indian people are the "fastest growing Ethnic group in Canada".[12]

In analyzing the reasons for the great proportion of drop-outs, the surveys invariably point out a difference in cultural values as being at the root of the problem.

In Federal Indian Schools the content of the curriculum is usually that of the provincial school system, and the provincial school system is geared to the needs of the dominant White society. Very little about Indian people is taught in our schools, and what is taught has been very negative.

Walter M. Hlady describes it this way:

"**Different Cultural Values** – Our educational system is primarily geared to develop individuals who will operate in a highly competitive society. Many of our native groups are members of a culture which

place the group above the individual and where the basic philophy of life is more co-operative than competitive."[3]

In his study of the Indians of B.C., H.B. Hawthorn makes the following analysis:

(a) "The processes of cultural transition still operate and their associated problems still beset the Indians."

(b) "As a number of studies demonstrate, the Indian cultures persist importantly; variably in different regions and communities even though the outer and material aspects of life have changed obviously and dramatically."

(c) "The teacher must accept the continued existence of Indian cultures, of special local modes of life, as a fact and should decide on his course of action in relation to this fact. But he cannot teach effectively while remaining ignorant of the cultures as they are today. They are by definition the environment and the major molding influences for the child."[14]

The same was also to be found in Saskatchewan by Davis et al. An excerpt from their 1967 study reads:

(a) "The latent function – the actual, unintended results of the Northern (Saskatchewan) school effort is education of Metis–Indian children for failure".

(b) "What are some of the factors which may account for poor achievement? **Cultural factors may be the dominant forces here. The language difficulty is obvious** ..... The school serves little or no purpose in the child's world. Rather, it alienates him from his own people. When this alienation becomes intolerable, the child leaves school".

And we find references to cultural differences in Alberta as well. In a 1962 report Rev. C. M. Mundy makes the following assertions:

"The Indians and Metis have been reared with a basically different cultural heritage than ours. His way of life, (to describe the archetype) places different emphasis on time, savings, sharing, work habits, and in general his orientation to nature. His was the way of adjusting to nature, rather than in shaping nature. His essence of life was found in being and not in becoming. His language would naturally facilitate, these emphasis and thus, the Indian child would grow up in his society not only learning his native language but along with it the language emphasis of his culture (the way life is viewed and evaluated). These growing up and maturing processes occur long before he can appraise what is taking place, so that they are internalized and incorporated into his way of living as "the natural way of living." This, of course is how we became the way we are and how we have obtained our values and our system of logic.

The Indians and Metis who come to Edmonton, in addition to being a unique and different cultural group, are essentially rural. Therefore, they have all of the adjustment problems that confront rurally-oriented people as they face urban living."[16]

As we can see, cultural differences not only permeate the educational sphere but overlap into other social areas as well.

In a further such reference, C. A. Sauve reports in 1969:

". . . . . research suggests that in rural development for native communities, considerable attention will need to be given to cultural values, need for achievement, achievement orientation, acculturation, alienation and ecological distance. Measurement of these and other variables will permit the people and the development officers to design development programs which are adapted to people's social, cultural, and psychological condition."

As these several research papers indicate, Indian culture has not died out. It still exists despite persistent attempts over the past four hundred years to suppress or supplant it. Like all cultures its form changed and changes, but there appears to be growing recognition that in dealing with Indian people much more consideration will have to be given to the differing cultural values and roots of Indian people by the Whites who are in the dominant position by sheer numbers.

It is, in part, to give a form and a framework to the recognition of the Indian cultures, in an educational setting, that the Alberta Indian Education Centre is proposed.

D. Usual Recommendations.

"As a result of our various studies, we have concluded – paradoxically – that the emphasis upon ethnicity as a factor in Metic–Indian disabilities should be sharply downgraded."[17]

"The principle of integrated education for all Canadian children is recommended without basic questions."[18]

These two quotations sum up the results of many man hours spent in surveying the Indian educational problems. Yet, the drop-out rates continue unabated; even in their own reports these and other learned gentlemen continually point out that the differences in Indian and White cultural values are at the base, at the root of the difficulties the Indian people have in adapting and adjusting to the present educational system.

It is illogical that after reading their own surveys and statistics they draw such conclusions. A hypotheses might be laid here, that perhaps, the conclusions were drawn by somebody else. (And the hypothese will be let to lie.)

However, there are other unusual kinds of recommendations offered: "...the frustrations and handicaps that Indian children must bear in the integrated schools, which they are attending with increasing frequency, will continue to produce high drop-out rates. **Only a re-orientation of the curriculum** so that is is more explicitly oriented to the interests, limitations and needs of Indian ancestry youngsters will change this situation". (underlining ours) [19]

"**The Adult Education Programs** that are designed for reserves are inadequate. Last years's Adult Education Director attempted to use the program as a form of community development work .... Yet, the Ottawa office of the Indian Affairs Branch cut her budget and this forced her to leave the reserve and terminate her plans of the 1966–67 year." (underlining ours)[20]

"**Some texts** continue to include material about Indians which is inaccurate, over generalized and even insulting. Such texts **should be eliminated from the curriculum**." (underlining ours)[21]

Other recommendations generally include:

- lowering the age for starting kindergartens, establishing nursery schools to teach English sooner where the native mother tongue is still used,

- orientation programs for teachers going into Indian Day and Residential schools,

- orientation programs for principals and teachers in "integrated" schools attended by Indian children.

These and a host of other suggestions are frequently offered.

One recommendation is seldom offered, and that is the strengthening of the Indian cultural base. Most researchers, who are themselves White may find it impossible but to look at the matter from their own cultural perspectives.

Studying the data of Hawthorn, Davis, Hobart, and several other reports, an Indian may come to a different (and more logical) conclusion: the educational system for Indian people should be more relevant to Indian values, mores, modes, customs and historical perspectives than is presently the case.

The proposal of the Alberta Indian Education Centre is an unusual recommendation, unusual in that it comes from Indian people.

E. The Alberta Indian Education Centre – A New Concept.

The idea of the Centre was started by Indian people; it will be run by Indian people for Indian people.

The Centre will serve as an educational complex where single people and family units will be able to attend and live in residence in order to learn about the history, culture and language of the different Indian Tribes in Alberta.

Great importance will be given to individual and group learning. By using modern tools the Indian people will re-discover their identity, develop pride and awareness of what the Indian was, is today, and what may hold for the future.

The Indian people will learn about the other Tribes in the province, as well as the working of the white dominant society, and how the Indian can best relate to larger society.

The forty-two (42) bands will have a permanent representation at the Centre, as well as spaces to serve as information centres about the culture and history of the Bands.

The seven Tribal groups will have spaces where the Tribal languages may be learned and studied and where information about the different tribes will be kept in many forms – books, films, tapes, videos, photos, etc...

Spaces will be available where the Indian people can learn about the many educational, vocational, technical and professional training programs that are available, and what is needed in order to qualify for these courses.

The main emphasis will be on cultural learning that will go on in the Council Chamber, in the Band Rooms, in the Language Rooms, where the Indian students will develop a deep awareness of what it means to be an Indian, and how this awareness will help him in living in this society dominated by non-Indians.

From this knowledge and even at the same time, learning and experiences will be going on in what are called Social Relations, Academic Relations and Technical Relations areas.

The Social Relations area is designed to develop knowledge of the processes of history as they relate to Indian tribes, to Alberta society, to Canadian society and to mankind generally.

The Academic Relations area is designed to develop an education geared for success in the future and to prepare students for successful vocational careers.

However, the Centre will not duplicate any programs now being run at other institutions. Rather, it will serve in a supplementary and complementary way – students may attend courses at other institutions and other institutions will be asked to run some courses at the Centre.

An Inter-Tribal Community Day School will be run for the school age children of the adult students and staff who will live together in Residences on the Centre site, not separately, but intermingled.

Office spaces will be available for administrative purposes of the Centre and for liasion activities with various agencies and institutions.

The location of the Indian Education Centre will be near enough to a large urban setting to use its many services and facilities, but not so near as to be enveloped in urban sprawl.

This latter is necessary for the many adult students who will be coming from rural and isolated northern communities.

The Alberta Indian Education Centre could serve as a beacon in the long dark night of the Indians' wanderings in the Whiteman's educational wilderness.

F. Indicators of the Workability of the Indian Education Centre.

Will it work?

Probably, a more specific corollary of that question will arise in the minds of many non-Indian people; "Can Indian people make it work?"

There are some indications that Indian people can indeed manage their own education system, as the following excerpt from the Carnegie Quarterly indicates: "Community control of schools by minority ethnic or racial groups is not new as either an idea or a practice. (Affluent majority communities have controlled their schools for a long time, of course). Throughout most of the nineteenth century, two great American Indian nations, the Choctaw and Cherokee Republics,

operated their own school systems. It is said by those who have studied the matter that they are the only two formal educational systems for Indians that have ever been clearly successful. Certainly what is reported of their results is impressive.

The Choctaw system included boarding schools, community day schools, Sunday School literacy classes, and college scholarships. Angie Debo, a historian of Oklahoma, writes: "As a result of its excellent public school system the Choctaw nation had a much higher portion of educated people than any of the neighbouring states; the number of college graduates one encounters in any contemporary record is surprising; and the quality of written English used by the Choctaws in both their official and private correspondence is distinctly superior to that of the white people surrounding them."

As for the Cherokees, it is estimated that in the 1830's they were about 90 per cent literate in their own language, and by the 1880's, the western Cherokees had a higher literacy level in English, than the white population of either Texas or Arkansas."(22)

More recently the Navahos in the United States have operated the Rough Rock Demonstration School. This unique educational facility is operated entirely by a Navaho Board of Directors, only one of whom has been to school, and he only to fifth grade level. It stresses the Navaho cultural background but also provides for transitional learning to present day academic and technical skills.

While there is no similar record of Indian control of their own education system in Canada, and since the control of the education system of the White population in Canada rests in White's hands, the time is opportune to break old barriers and give the Indian people the chance to run their own educational system.

Let us put into actual practice the promise embodied in the newly-emerging folk saying: "The future and destiny of the Indian people lies in the Indians own hands".

Let us do this now, lest this brave new saying became a hoary old Canadian cliche by the time this newly-born decade runs out.

F.4. EDUCATION OF INDIAN CHILDREN

Explanation: During the 1970 Session of the Alberta Legislature, the Honourable R.C. Clark, Minister of Education, introduced a bill providing an entirely new **School Act**. The Indian Association of Alberta presented a brief consisting of two main parts. The discriminatory treatment of Indian children was documented with 20 examples. Objection was expressed to certain sections of the new School Act. The objectionable sections were subsequently removed by the Honourable Minister, in keeping with the commitment of the Alberta Government to refrain from intervening in any way in Federal-Indian relationships until asked by the Indians to do so. Excerpts from the brief submitted on Bill 35 are presented here.

EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY AND THE ALBERTA HUMAN RIGHTS ACT

Treaty Indian children in Alberta attempt to gain their education in integrated schools in spite of social, economic and linguistic handicaps that other children generally do not have to face. Integrated schooling usually means that reserve children are obliged to be transported into towns or cities where not only the ordinary rural-semi-urban social distinctions are magnified, but where other differences based on disparities in standard of living and language spoken are also accentuated. As the following pages of this brief honestly demonstrate, treaty Indian children are subjected to various types of discriminatory behaviour and educational policies that have the effect of emphasizing the social gap between Indian reserve communities and town populations, and of deterring Indian students from attending school regularly and earning the academic achievements of their non-Indian counterparts.

The problem of Indian pupils dropping out of school before they have sufficiently prepared themselves to make their way economically is a national problem . Research data provided by Mr. E.R. McEwan, the past Executive Director of the Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada, states: 'Statistically, attainment runs as follows: About 50 per cent of Indian students do not go beyond grade VI and about 61 per cent fail to reach Grade VIII; about 97 percent fail to reach Grade

XII." Amongst the non-Indian population of Canada, only about 12 precent of those students who enter Grade I fail to make it as far as Grade XII.

In Alberta, the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (Saddle Lake Indian Agency Inspectorate) made studies in 1964 and 1965 of Grade IX and Grade XII examination results for all students, Indian and non-Indian, attending eleven provincial junior and senior high schools. It was found that Indian students in the two grades made results in the departmental examinations that placed them generally in the lower quartile of their classes. This marked lack of achievement at that time indicated quite clearly that the school environment must not have been one that was conducive to average or better scholastic attainment.

The Indian Assocation of Alberta has now gathered sufficient documented evidence (part of which is described herein) to show that one of the very serious deterrents to Indian children getting a complete education in this modern world is the fact that the Indian pupils too frequently face various kinds of discrimination during their educational careers. In some instances this discrimination is distinctly racial in nature. Deleterious effects result when school boards, school administrators and teachers set policies or commit personal acts which result in racial discrimination against students of Indian origin. Regardless of whether or not such acts are committed deliberately or inadvertently, the effects are the same: Indian students acquire inferiority feelings and terminate their educational careers prematurely.

At the present time the Alberta Human Rights Act does not apply to situations in the public and separate schools of Alberta wherein treaty Indian students are degraded and humiliated because of discriminatory acts committed by adults associated with the school systems. At this time Indian parents and/or older students have no legal recourse when subjected to discriminatory acts in Alberta's schools. Our Association feels that school boards and hired personnel should be given no immunity to prosecution if they commit unseemly racial acts against Indian students.

It is our sincere recommendation that the Alberta Human Rights Act be amended to ensure legal recourse for Indian students and/or parents who are the victim of racial discrimination. We believe the scope of the Alberta Human Rights Act should be such that policies set by boards and acts committed by them which are socially detrimental to the Indian people (or members of other non-white racial or ethnic groups) would be subject to investigation and prosectuion through the cooperation of the Alberta Human Rights Branch. Similarly, discriminatory acts committed by principals, teachers and other educational staff should be under the purview of the Alberta Human Rights Act. We are not of the opinion that racial discrimination committed by one minor aged students towards another can be within the scope of the latter Act.

We would like to reiterate our position stated in a letter of February 24, 1970, to the Honourable Minister of Eduction, Robert Clark, that our recommended revision to the Alberta Human Rights Act must be restated in the Alberta School Act because far too many school trustees and educational staff are unacquainted with the content of the Human Rights Act and therefore run the risk of violating its provisions.

ACTS OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST INDIAN PUPILS IN ALBERTA SCHOOLS

Pupil Health Services

(1) **Public School District "A"**: In this school district there was quite a serious epidemic of peticulosis (head lice) involving non-Indian and Indian children. Employees of the local health unit treated the non-Indians, but refused to treat the Indians. This refusal necessitated sending all of the affected Indian children on a 34-mile bus trip to the Indian and Northern Health Services Reserve nursing station where they were treated and later returned to town. Very precious school time was lost in the process of treatment.

(2) **Public School Distirct "A"**: Pupils in various grades, following a period of "trial" school attendance had their attendance in school terminated when the school principal arbitrarily sent letters to the respective parents saying: "Your children are not ready for integration, so send them to the reserve day school". Action such as this not only caused much consternation among Indian parents, but disrupted the progress of the children in school. These letters were sent out during the school year or at the end of the school year.

(3) County "A": Five students of compulsory school attendance age were expelled indefinitely for truancy offences; this was a direct contravention of the Alberta School Act which provides for compulsory attendance (the Canadian Indian Act has similar attendance provisions). After six weeks of negotiation the children were re-instated, but only after valuable school time had been lost.

(4) Public School District "A": A quota system was established whereby Indian children could be admitted only on the basis of 10% of the total school enrolment and 20% of the population of a given English-speaking integrated class.

(5) Public School District "A": School Policy dictated that no Indian children could be admitted to grade one unless they had first of all completed one-half year of kindergarten instruction; this was in opposition to the Alberta School Act which requires no kindergarten attendance as a pre-requisite to grade one.

(6) County "A": Due to enrolment restrictions in this county, Indian children who wished to "integrate" were transported to far distant schools, being bussed past provincial schools nearer to their homes.

(7) School Division "C": This school division which has admitted several hundred Indian pupils, threatened to nullify its agreement with the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development unless that Department took action to help the division solve its critical age-grade retardation problems involving Indians. To partially remedy this problem and save the total integration program, the federal

Department committed itself to the building of an approximately half-million dollar nursery-kindergarten facility off the reserve. The Indian Band Council were not made aware of this critical situation, and were not involved in resolving the problem.

(8) County "B" – County "C": Indian pupils were transported to school in antiquated school buses. Although the buses were ten to eleven years old, they did pass Province of Alberta school bus safety inspections. On the bus routes in the reserves, however, the buses frequently broke down and there were failures of braking apparatus, engines, etc... Modern equipment for transportation was provided for non–Indians attending the same schools.

(9) County "C": A school principal refused delivery of school lunch supplies to be distributed to Indian students. The basis of this action was a complaint by an indignant non-Indian parent who complained that the Indian children were getting better lunches than the non-Indians. Although the Indian band concerned was paying for a substantial part of the lunch supplies, and the project had been initiated during a welfare emergency, the non-Indian parent protested to the County School Committee and this led to discontinuance of deliveries to the school.

(10) County "B": An Indian student in grade IX, over-aged for his grade, was given badly worn textbooks, while other students received better quality books. He perceived this to be an act of discrimination. The school principal related that the old books were issued to the lad because he expected him to "drop out" anyway.

(11) County "B": Indian students entering junior high school at the grade VII level were placed in grade VI of elementary school because they were judged not to be up to grade for their age.

(12) Separate School District "B": ndian students were isolated within the school for a special lecture assembly concerning truancy problems. They were told by the principal: "Why can't you Indians attend like everyone else does?"

(13) Public School District "A": In junior high school a teacher seated all the Indian children in the back of the classroom. The students interpreted this to mean rejection of them by the teacher. The teacher's explanation was that she placed them all in the back because they would be quiet back there. The action conjured up discrimination in the minds of the students.

Acts of Open Confrontation

(14) County "B": Treaty Indian students were accused of stealing lunches from non-Indian pupils. The irate chairman of the county school committee called the district school superintendent from the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, threatening him with adverse action unless the Department immediately instituted a full-scale lunch program. There was no conclusive evidence that the Indian students were guilty of stealing

(15) Public School District "A": A grade IX teacher encouraged over-age Indian students to "drop out" because she felt they had no prospect of passing the departmental examinations; the students felt rejected and discriminated against as Indians; the teacher justified her action because she wanted to personally maintain high grade IX results for her class-at-large.

(16) Separate School District "A": In a junior high school class a student was told by the teacher: "You're a dumb Indian". The Indian pupil immediately attacked the teacher physically. The student, about fourteen years of age at the time (still under compulsory school attendance laws) was expelled and placed in a hostel about 250 miles from her home. In the new hostel situation she unfortunately ran into more prejudice and hostility from the supervisor and eventually her whole school career was ruined. No action was taken against the teacher who committed the original tragic act.

(17) Public School District "C": A grade IX Indian student who had been truant returned to his classes only to be confronted by an irate grade IX teacher who told him: "Go back to the dirt where you belong". The lad in question was known to be of good intelligence and

came from a good home. Since he was of school-leaving age when he met this mean and destructive verbal attack, he quit school never to return again.

(18) County "D": As a result of a playground dispute, a non-Indian child lambasted a young Indian pupil saying: "Give me that swing, you dirty little Indian."

Curriculum Content and Organization

(19) Separate School District "C": A large elementary school had its population constituted as follows: 50 per cent non-Indian; 25 per cent treaty Indian; 25 per cent Metis. Regardless of the great preponderance of children of Indian descent, the school principal and his staff had done virtually nothing curriculum-wise to accommodate the cultural background of the Indian children. Because these steps had not been taken the drop-out rate has been extremely high, students of Indian descent have had to be diverted to opportunity or remedial classes, and amongst the teachers turn-over has been very high.

Psychometric Testing

(20) County "B": In an integrated school which enrolled 40 per cent pupils of Indian descent, and in which there was extremely poor progress on the part of the Indian pupils, all the students were obliged to write group intelligence tests. The school principal found that in the case of the Indian children, practically all had made poor showings, most of them falling into intelligence categories of below average to extremely dull. The results of the testing were mailed to the district office of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development with the inference that this was the valid reason why the Indian children could not make scholastic progress. (The students made poor showings because they had not yet learned to read. They had not yet learned to read because the school curriculum reflected little in the way of vital Indian content and cultural values.)

RECOMMENDATIONS IN REGARD TO 1970 BILL 35

In our letter of February 24, 1970, to the Honorable Minister of Education, Robert Clark, the Indian Association of Alberta stated: "We hold **absolute objections** to this complete section. Our attitude is that passing of this section would permit new, advanced involvement between Indian reserve representatives and provincial education jurisdictions at a time when we as treaty Indians have not yet had our legal status and educational rights reconfirmed by the Government of Canada."

PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO SECTION 158, 1970 BILL 35

On numerous occasions Indian chiefs, band councillors and school committee members have voiced serious concern because the federal Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development executes legal agreements between itself and various school jurisdictions in Alberta without first of all obtaining the bona fide consent of legally constituted reserve bodies. The effect of completing such agreements without the sanction of Indian communities serves to reduce the degree of power which Indian communities may bring to bear in a wide range of political and/or business circumstances, thereby causing loss of leadership status for Indians in their own communities The ultimate effect is limiting the ability of an Indian community in determining its own social, educational and political development.

During the past few months the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development executed agreements with school jurisdictions in Alberta without carrying out complete consultation and reaching consensus with Indian band councils in the respective communities.

Indians of the Saddle Lake band are now contesting the commitment of the Dept. I. A. N. D. to contribute approximately one-half million dollars in capital funds toward the construction of the St. Paul Regional High School.

The Blood band of southern Alberta have initiated an enquiry concerning the validity of the capital contribution of the Dept. I. A. N. D. towards the construction of a major nursery school – kindergarten complex in the town of Cardston without the consensus of the Blood band council and education committee. Funds amounting to approximately $1,500,000 were committed to expansion of the Cardston school facilities without the concurrence of the Blood band of Indians.

In order that such undemocratic procedures be eliminated in future negotiations involving Indian bands of Alberta, the Indian Association of Alberta proposes the following two amendments to Section 158 of the 1970 Bill 35:

1. "A local school board is **prohibited** from entering into a tuition agreement with the Government of Canada for the education of treaty Indian pupils without the written sanction of the Indian band council and/or school committee to that school board",

2. "A local board is **prohibited from** entering into an initial or subsequent capital construction agreement with the government of Canada for the education of treaty Indian pupils without the written sanction of the Indian band council and/or school committee to that school board".

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APPENDIX FOOTNOTE REFERENCES

SECTION F.1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

1. The most authoritative work on the Treaties is Alexander Morris, *Treaties of Canada with the Indians of the North-West*, Bedfords, Clarke and Co. (1880) Toronto. Alexander Morris was Indian Commissioner, Lieutenant Governor and historian. His work is fully documented and reproduced many of the original reports and documents.

2. Morris, p. 256.

3. Morris, pp. 234-5, underline added.

4. Morris, p. 16, underlining added.

5. Morris, p. 25, underlining added.

6. The extra negotiations needed to revise Treaties One and Two are described fully in Morris, Chapter 7.

7. Quoted in Morris, pp. 34-5, underline added.

8. Morris, p.

9. Morris, p. 205.

10. Morris, pp. 287-9, underlining added.

11. Morris, p. 185.

12. Morris, p. 185.

13. L.C. Green, *Canada's Indians – Federal Policy* (1969) Government of Alberta.

14. Quoted in Morris, p. 248.

15. Morris, p. 207.

16. Morris, p. 207, p. 218.

SECTION F.3 ALBERTA INDIAN EDUCATION CENTRE

1. Hawthorn, H.B., **A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada**, Ottawa, Indian Affairs Branch, October, 1967, Volume II, pp. 5, paragraph 5.

2. Hobart, Dr. C.W., "Community Opportunity Assessment, Human Resources Research and Dvelopment, Executive Council, **General Report**, Edmonton, Government of Alberta, March, 1967, pp. 281, paragraph 3.

3. Jenson, V., Meeks, R., Svenson, K., **Population Characteristics, Alberta Census Division No. 12 – Agriculture Economics Division, Rural Development Section**, 1965.

4. McEwan, E.R., **Rights of Canada's First Citizens, the Indian and Eskimo**, 1968.

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6. Davis, Serl, Spaulding, **A Northern Dilemma – Reference Papers**, Washington, Bellingham, Western Washington State College, April, 1967.

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9. **Indian Affairs Facts and Figures**, 1969.

10. **A Northern Dilemma**, Davis et al. Volume II, pp. 232.

11. Former Canadian Folk-saying.

12. Modern Canadian Folk-saying.

13. Hlady, Walter M., **The Sociology of Nature Canadians**, from text of a speech delivered to the First Inter-provincial Conference on Schools in the Forest for professional educators in Edmonton, January 3, 1963.

14. Bolshaw, C.S., Hawthorn, H.B., Jamieson, S.M., **The Indians of British Columbia – a study of Contempory Social Adjustment**, University of California Press and University of British Columbia, 1958, pp. 299 – paragraph 5, pp. 300 – paragraph 7, pp. 301 – paragraph 3.

15. **A Northern Dilemma**, Davis, et al. pp. 229 – paragraph 1, pp. 230 – paragraph 3.

16. Munday, Rev. C.M., Chairman, **Report of the Indian-Metis Study Committee to the Council of Community Services**, Edmonton and District, March 5, 1962.

17. Sauve, C.A., **Theoretical Consideration for Socio-Economic Development among Native People**, Research and Planning Division, Human Resources Development Authority, Edmonton, May 1, 1969.

18. **A Northern Dilemma**, Davis et al., pp. 525, paragraph 4.

19. **Hawthorn Report**, pp. 12, paragraph 1.

20. **Hobart Report**, pp. 282, paragraph 4.

21. Newman, Martin, **Appendix F, Indians of the Saddle Lake Reserve Community Opportunity Assessment**, (Presented to Human Resources Research and Development Executive Council – Government of Alberta), Edmonton, Alberta, March, 1967.

22. **Hawthorn Report**, pp. 13, paragraph 6.